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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

FOUNDED BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

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MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH.D.
1861–1921

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OF
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

VOLUME XXXVIII OCTOBER 1921 NUMBER 1

# MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

BY JAMES A. MONTGOMERY
University of Pennsylvania

Morris Jastrow, Jr., was born in Warsaw, August 13, 1861, the son of Rabbi Marcus Jastrow. The latter, a German subject, was minister of a German-Jewish congregation in Warsaw. Soon after the birth of Morris the Polish revolution of 1861 broke out, and the father, being a warm sympathizer with the struggling Poles, was imprisoned for three months and then ordered to leave the country. The family then settled in South Germany, but they were enabled to return again to Warsaw in 1863. However, their stay was short; the Poles made another attempt to free their country, and all those suspected of sympathizing with such efforts were obliged to leave the land. As the son remarks in a memorandum on his life, "You see, therefore, that I breathed the spirit of liberty from the time of my birth." In 1866 Rabbi Jastrow received a call to the Congregation of Rodef Shalom in Philadelphia and removed there with his family. He was a distinguished preacher, a scholar of profound erudition, which had its fruits in his invaluable *Talmudic Dictionary*, and a saintly man. He and his family became peculiarly identified with the city of their adoption, where the father died, full of honors, in 1903. A younger son, Joseph, devoted himself to the study of



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psychology and is now professor in that department at the University of Wisconsin.

After his boyhood schooling, Morris Jastrow entered the college of the University of Pennsylvania, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1881. (In 1914 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.) He then went to Europe for his *Wanderjahre*, where he studied at the universities of Breslau, Leipzig, and Strassburg, and also spent a winter in Paris attending the Collège de France, the École des Hautes Études, and the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. He took his degree in philosophy at Leipzig in 1884, his thesis being a portion of the unpublished grammatical works of the Jewish-Arabic grammarian, Abu Zakariyya Hayyuj. He was the scholar of Professor H. L. Fleischer and of the Delitzsches, father and son, at Leipzig, of professors Frankel, Grätz, and Rosin at Breslau, and of Professor Nöldeke at Strassburg. In Paris he came into close contact with Ernest Renan, Jules Oppert, the two Derenbourgs, and Joseph Halévy. These foreign relationships were maintained by him in subsequent years. Among his friends may be named James Darmesteter, Professor Cornelius P. Tiele, of Leyden, Professor William Osler, of Oxford, Professor Israel Abrahams, of Cambridge. For long, until the time of the Great War, he was accustomed to spend the summers in Europe, especially in the delightful environment of Munich. It was in these summer vacations that he found his only time for uninterrupted scholarly work, but he had the pleasure of cultivating the acquaintance of foreign scholars. He took an active part in the several congresses devoted to the subjects of his interest. He was official delegate of the United States Government to the last three International Congresses of Orientalists held in Rome, Copenhagen, and Athens, respectively. He was also official delegate to the Third and Fourth International Congresses for the History of Religions held at Oxford and Leyden. As president of the Semitic section of the Third Congress he delivered the presidential address, and also served as one of the presidents of this section in the Fourth Congress.

He returned home in 1885 at the time when the great development of American Semitic scholarship, synchronizing with Professor William R. Harper's remarkable leadership, was beginning. It had

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been expected that he would enter the Jewish ministry, and for a brief space he assisted his father in his congregation. But he determined to devote himself to scholarship, despite the fact that he was making a choice between a certain career and a precarious livelihood. In the year of his return he became lecturer in Semitics in the University of Pennsylvania. About the same time two other scholars were coming into the orbit of the university, Professor John P. Peters, who, while professor in the Philadelphia Divinity School, was also offering lectures at the university, and Dr. Herman V. Hilprecht, who had come to Philadelphia to serve on the staff of the *Sunday School Times*. These two scholars participated in the first campaign, 1888–89, of the Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia, and soon after the second campaign Dr. Peters went to New York. Despite these brave beginnings the adequate support of Semitics was still in its infancy. Dr. Jastrow became connected with the library of the university in 1888 as assistant librarian. In 1898 he was appointed librarian, in which capacity he served for twenty-one years, laying down his labors in the library in 1919.

One of the marvels of Dr. Jastrow's life, probably little known to his scholarly circles and hardly realized by his coteries of friends in Philadelphia, is that he pursued his remarkable range of studies during the greatest part of his life in addition to the duties and cares of university librarian. In his charge the library came to be one of the ranking university libraries in the country. In his administration the entire library was re-catalogued and brought up to modern standards, and the collection of books increased from 150,000 to some 400,000 volumes. Under him the library made itself worthy of the remarkable revolution effected by Provost Pepper, who changed the small college and the two or three professional schools into a many-sided university. In this development the library took its part, and Dr. Jastrow as its head revealed his administrative ability and his sympathies as a lover of books and of their readers. His policy was that the books were there to be read, and probably no library was ever expanded on a more democratic basis. Although the work must often have been a burden to a man with such definite ideals and plans as Jastrow had set before himself, he never complained, performed his duties with patience and enthusiasm, while

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the qualities of ability and personality which endeared him to his scholastic friends gathered about him a devoted staff. While we might wish that he had been spared this routine task, we obtain withal the rare picture of a man to whom his work was never onerous, and who did two men's work in one, as scholar and library administrator.

In 1891 Dr. Jastrow was appointed full professor, in the chair of Semitic languages and literatures. He was the first to organize a curriculum of Semitic courses in the university and taught in almost all the branches of that subject, although confining himself in general to Arabic, Hebrew, and Assyriology, to which duties he later added, through his zeal, the teaching of comparative religion. In his professorship Dr. Jastrow remained until the time of his death, which occurred suddenly June 22, 1921.

The city of his adoption became peculiarly his home. He entered into all its activities, social, academic, intellectual, and even political. He was a founder of the Philadelphia Oriental Club, of the Contemporary Club, a member and high officer of the Philosophical Society, and a member of the Franklin Inn Club. He was active as a member and a sought-for lecturer of the Ethical Culture Society, being an intimate and dear friend of Felix Adler. The quieter coteries of friendship which gave the joy to his life must be left to a biographer with more space and knowledge at his command. The writer has often pondered with wonder over Dr. Jastrow's untiring and many-sided energy, with a life so plotted out and so exactly filled with his duties and undertakings that he could be at once the chief of a great library, a teacher of many classes holding practically two chairs, a fruitful scholar, and one who found time for, and delight in, the life of society and the companionship of his many coteries of friends. He found a remarkable helpmeet in his wife, who was Miss Helen Bachman, of Philadelphia, a lady of singular charm and fine mental and literary ability. She was his companion in all his works and problems, and collaborated with him in the publication of selected essays of James Darmesteter.

By his students Dr. Jastrow will always be first remembered as a teacher. His remarkable quickness of mind and wide knowledge expected much of his scholars, and this positive stimulus brought

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out the best in them. He could labor patiently in the grind of teaching, and was ready to give his time to anyone who desired it, treating his students with kindliness and helpfulness. He loved teaching as such and was always ready to assume even works of supererogation in instruction. Indeed, he rarely if ever turned down a demand for his teaching, however slight the warrant was in numbers or personnel. He appeared most delightfully in those classes sustained by his superabundant energy in which he gathered about him his advanced students and often his colleagues in various fields and read with them important texts, as for instance one year the texts of the several languages of the *Panchatantra*. In this cooperation he was easily first, but always without arrogance or superciliousness. He was ready to learn from his students, he welcomed their suggestions, helped them forward in their thinking, and encouraged them to stand on their own feet. When he did not know, he sought to learn, and there was not a field in which he did not show a thirst for knowledge. He never seemed bored with things or men. There was a remarkable generousness in his relations with both students and colleagues. He insisted punctiliously in his work on giving recognition to others and took pleasure in accepting the theories and suggestions of others. His object was the truth, and it was of secondary importance to him who discovered it.

Upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his doctorate two of his former students published his bibliography (1910). This contained over 150 titles, and the number must since have mounted to nearly 200. (It is to be hoped that his full bibliography will be published.) The titles are in Arabica, Assyriaca, Hebraica and Old Testament, Judaica, and history of religions. It was as expounder of the Hebrew Testament, as Assyriologist, and as student of religions that he distinguished himself, and to these capacities he added in his latter years that of publicist.

His early and constant love for Arabic never deserted him, and he was never happier than in his Arabic classes. While the Bible, Assyriology, and comparative religion came to claim his attention more and more, Arabic remained for him a subject of deep philological and literary interest, as well as a well-used instrument in his explorations in Semitic and religious fields. He was expecting to go to

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the Orient in the coming winter and spend some months in Cairo to learn the spoken Arabic and to devote himself to Arabic literature in its great center. The same year was to take him to the American School in Jerusalem and possibly to Mesopotamia in order to institute the proposed school at Baghdad. But this crown to his life was denied him.

His earlier contributions to Old Testament science were mostly historical and archaeological, coming to be more and more enriched from his researches in the Babylonian field and in comparative religion. In his later years he set before himself a series of commentaries on the three biblical books which had always fascinated him, Job, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs—the three humanistic books of the Bible. His purpose has been fulfilled. *A Gentle Cynic, Being the Book of Ecclesiastes*, appeared in 1919; *The Book of Job* in 1920; and the last of the trilogy, the Song, he left almost complete and largely in print. In this series, his final work, we may particularly note the character of his genius. He appears in those books as a serious critic with his well-defined notions as to the problems presented and with his carefully thought-out and positive solutions. On this score one might wish he had proceeded farther to give a thoroughgoing commentary in each case. But the immediate value of the thing appeared to him as of equal importance; he wished as a teacher to communicate his knowledge and enthusiasm to the many. Patient and plodding he was, but he was impatient of remaining in the detail; he desired for himself the view of the whole and he possessed the faith in humanity that his readers could be guided by him and follow him with understanding. And the remarkable success of the two commentaries published corroborated his faith.

On the scientific side of his biblical work his interest lay in the critical analysis of the text. In this process he was acute and independent. While accepting the results of the Higher Criticism, he by no means was willing to abide by its conventional results, but pursued the analysis more minutely and from fresh standpoints, coming to the result that the phenomenon was that of constant stratification. One may differ from him in his theory of glosses and additions, but his arguments were always strong and well put. A

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capital specimen of his critical power is to be observed in his study of the law of leprosy (*JQR*, N.S., IV, 357 ff.), in which he uncovers the layers of the present code, showing it to be an accumulation of various deposits reaching far back to immemorial ages.

Assyriology does not appear to have claimed Dr. Jastrow's first interest. But with the growth of that science and the rich promise it gave of enriching the knowledge of the history of religion, he turned his attention more and more in that direction, until at last it was in this field that he published his monumental work, one of the monumental productions in Babylonian science, namely, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1905–12, three volumes and atlas of illustrations), the successor of a less ambitious work of similar title in English. Dr. Jastrow was not a worker on the original tablets. But he read hard and solidly on all the printed texts, keeping up to a marvelous degree with every new text that appeared, and performed the consolidating and interpretative work which many a tablet-reader is not fitted for. His *magnum opus* is in part an encyclopedia of the subject, but as he proceeded with his task he read himself ever more into his subject, so that the chapters of the last two volumes became distinctly original monographs. This is especially true of his epoch-making discoveries in hepatoscopy and kindred forms of divination. His rare ability in the interpretation of difficult texts is to be seen in his study of the Langdon paradise epic ("Sumerian Myths of Beginnings," *AJSL*, XXXIII, 91 ff.), while his prompt and assiduous scholarship appears admirably in his translation of the new Assyrian code (*JAOS*, 1921, 1 ff.). In the still more recent "Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgameš Epic" (*YOS*, Vol. IV, Part III) he exhibits his critical power in the tracing of the history of the Babylonian hero epic. While his interest was not primarily philological, it is amazing to observe the amount of his word studies as, e.g., in the Index to his *Religion*, and without this foundation he built no superstructure. For his own illumination he explored every field of science which might aid him; whether for medical or legal texts, he obtained the advice of experts and left no stone unturned that might further the interpretation.

His intimate knowledge of the whole scope of Assyriology gained through this work on religion naturally led him on to his *Civilization*

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*of Babylonia and Assyria* (1915). This is a fascinatingly written book in which he presents a comprehensive view of his great subject, stimulating and useful to both scholar and layman. We may only note here his *Aspects of Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria* (1911), being the American Lectures on the History of Religions for 1910, and his *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (1914), the Haskell Lectures at Oberlin College for 1913. These books present his well-digested estimate of the character and worth of the religions he treats.

As has been said, Jastrow's interest came to culminate in the history of religion. It is in that field, in its many phases, that his chief contributions lie, whether in his great work on the Babylonian religion with the attendant volumes and monographs or in his biblical studies. He was one of the leaders in the introduction of the history of religion as an academic *Wissenschaft* in this country. His earliest book contribution to the subject was his *Study of Religion* (1902), designed as an introductory textbook. He was a founder and secretary of the Committee of American Lectures on the History of Religion, which brought the subject to the attention of our colleges and the public by securing the best lecturers in the several fields from at home and abroad. While never formally professor of the subject, he became the leader of the group in religions at his university, and by his solid contributions one of the foremost savants of the subject. He edited a series of textbooks in that field, to which he contributed the first (English) edition of his *Religion of Babylon and Assyria.* His strength lay especially in the field of religious practices and in the criticism of legend, while his wide knowledge enabled him to give a comparative study from most diverse fields.

In his study of religion, while scientific and singularly objective, he was always reverent, by his own nature avoiding the cynicism which disfigures so often the studies in this field. Religious at heart, he was interested in all things human and recognized that the spirit of religion stood for something essential to the nature and spiritual environment of man and hence was worthy of penetrating and sympathetic study.

Dr. Jastrow's wide and constructive intelligence called him to many editorial duties. The series of "Handbooks on Religion" has

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been referred to. He edited in collaboration with Professor Gottheil the very useful "Semitic Study Series," consisting of original texts in various Semitic languages. He served as an editor of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and of the *International Encyclopedia*, and as associate editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* and of *Art and Archaeology*. He was a contributor of numerous articles to those publications and to Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* and the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

His intense interest in all human affairs quickened his deep knowledge of the Orient to the production of several valuable volumes of a publicistic character. They were contributions to the literature of the Great War and after, and include *The War and the Bagdad Railway*, which became a handbook for statesmen, *The Eastern Question and Its Solution*, *The War and the Coming Peace*, and *Zionism and the Future of Palestine*. He well exhibited in those works the contribution which archaeological discipline can make to the most modern and vital of political problems.

Of many, indeed of most scholars, the sum that can be told of their life's labor is that they left so many books of such and such worth. There is the selfish claim upon the scholar's life to do his work while he is in the light of day; he may not easily be blamed for not doing the practical things. Dr. Jastrow's bibliography would suffice as ample memorial of a great scholar. But an amazing feature of his life, yet not a feature, but the very characteristic of the man, was the tremendous energy he gave to furthering every practical step for the advancement of science and whatever ends he believed in. All of us who knew him at all, whether in some club, or the councils of the university, or in the various societies to which he belonged, scientific or more broadly humanistic, will recall his enormous activity in making things go and succeed. There is hardly a forward movement in any of the associations he was connected with in which he did not take a leading part. The last sight the writer had of his friend was in New York at the first meeting of the trustees of the newly incorporated American School of Oriental Research (June 17), in the counsels of which he had taken a laboring oar. I realize sadly now that that visit to New York was an effort of his heroic sense of duty. The last communication I had with

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him was concerning the plans for a progressive movement in the American Oriental Society. These last engagements of his are typical of the man's whole life. He was constantly sought to serve on committees or as an officer. Was some enterprise to be undertaken for the consolidation or broadening of science, he was naturally suggested as a man who could do things. And he never took his positions of trust and honor nominally. His wise and generous advice could always be had, and it was advice which he thought out and followed up. If help were needed in men or money, he knew where to turn. His ambition was for co-operation and amity as the prerequisite for efficiency, and he gave himself whole-heartedly. Dr. Jastrow was indeed highly honored by all the societies and groups of which he was a member, but it must be equally said that the high honors he gained he paid for in the currency of hard work and painstaking, unselfish devotion. Apart from the personal loss which will be felt by many a scholar and many a friend, there will go up the disconsolate query, Who can do for us in his place, in counsel and effectiveness?

In analyzing Dr. Jastrow's personality we may naturally point to certain inheritances. He drew from his race their remarkable physical stamina, which rather comes from spiritual grit than from mere physique. He never seemed to weary physically. He kept mentally fresh by going from task to task, from one social appointment to another; he was never mentally or corporeally lazy. His eager and critical mind was also part of the same heritage. On that inheritance was grafted by his own selection the best of modern education and scientific training. An Oriental by race, he wished to make the wide world his home, that cosmopolitan trait of Judaism which so remarkably runs alongside of its seeming provincialism. His humaneness, too often ignorantly denied to the race, was of the same origin. He found his recreation in human society, he was a rare friend and companion. In the course of his life he became engaged in several polemic issues, but while the world loves a fracas, he abhorred quarreling. He was a man of peace, would go a long way to avoid a break, and more than most men I have known pursued the not always popular art of peacemaking; he genuinely desired peace for himself and his fellow-men, and if he fought, it was for the truth as he saw it.

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To this background of inheritance and environment he gave the contribution of a persistent and determined will. This aimed in his science at the pursuit of the truth, in his life at the attainment of the best. That indomitable will of his gave the impulse to his remarkable mind that made it so productive and creative. For him there was no pleasant thought of the scholar's ease, or the sloth which satisfies itself negatively with the adage that life is short and art is long. Life was, alas, too short in his case, but his determination filled it with extraordinary activities of remarkable value. Withal, it was not a puritanical or merely stoic will; his biographer can write it down that he enjoyed his life.

With his stout will went a certain fine confidence—he was not timorous in expressing himself orally or by the pen. But this confidence was no conceit. He could learn from others, he was always a growing man. When he spoke or wrote, he had something to say, and he gave utterance out of his own enthusiasm for knowledge with the simple, unaffected desire to communicate his knowledge to others as a teacher, or when among his peers to effect the exchange of ideas for the mutual enrichment of all. To a unique degree Dr. Jastrow was at once scholar and teacher and learner, attaining his honors in the former capacities because he was always humble in learning.

It is a man's personality that his friends feel and remember. When he is gone, his work is done, to be appraised by the world's cold thumb. But there remains in memory the indefinable person, that intimation of immortality, the vital unit, incomprehensible and yet most real of all, which is the man, while the work is but the function. Dr. Jastrow's work is over. *Si quaeris, circumspice monumenta.* But his friends, those friends of many groups of which he was a choice member, are not thinking of him only as a man of science, with all the scientific debt they owe him. They think of that personality which may have affected others in various ways, but which to them has been a source of delight and vital impulse. In his simple humanity he made them love him, and a force and a light have gone out of our lives.

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# THE ASHUR VERSION OF THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION

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It was early in the year 1875 that George Smith first called attention to some fragments of cuneiform tablets in the British Museum on which he had discovered "the Chaldean account of Genesis." In view of the acrimonious debate which Langdon's *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man* (1914) precipitated, it may be of interest to remark, incidentally, that Smith's account of the seventh tablet of the Babylonian creation story was entitled "Tablet Describing the Fall." The story of the early attempts at reconstructing the Babylonian account of the creation out of the scraps of texts available is an interesting one, and has been well told by King in the Introduction to his *The Seven Tablets of Creation* (1902). That the discovery of new tablets or parts thereof would be sure to work havoc with restorations of the text and assignments of the different fragments to their proper places in the epic was probably expected by most of those who indulged in this sort of dissipation. But such mistakes are easily made. Even King's assignment of the fragment K. 11,641 to the fifth tablet has turned out to be an error. And King, with many new fragments at hand, could and did profit by the example of others.

Since the appearance of King's work, almost two decades ago, considerable progress has been marked in our knowledge of Babylonian accounts of beginnings. However, this advance was made, not through new fragments of the *Enuma elish*, but through the discovery of older, Sumerian, legends. With the publication of the documents found by the Germans at the ancient capital of Assyria our interest again returns to the "Seven Tablets." By a most remarkable chance—the initiated know how tantalizingly fate has dealt with us in these matters—the Ashur texts practically close up the two serious gaps in the *Epic of Creation*, the one in the first tablet where the creation of the gods is described, the other in



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the sixth where the creation of mankind is the theme. These texts were published by Ebeling in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, religiösen Inhalts* (hereafter abbreviated *KAR*).[1] Ebeling also gave a preliminary translation of parts of these new tablets in the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (No. 58, August, 1917). He has found a few additional fragments which will no doubt be published along with his critical study of this new version. Meanwhile I am sending out a translation of the first and sixth tablets, realizing that the fragments to which I did not have access will surely correct some of my readings, but feeling confident that I have contributed a small mite to the understanding of the texts. I have been able to fill in a number, but not all, of the lines left blank by Ebeling.

I shall let the tablets tell their own story. But I cannot help commenting on one point, namely the "gentle cynicism" of the author or authors of this epic. Man was created, not, as had been conjectured, from Marduk's blood, but out of the blood and bone of the inventor of war, Kingu.[2] The author of the *Gilgamesh Epic* has a harlot introduce Engidu, the man of nature, into the amenities of civilization (we speak of the "civilizing influence" of "fire water"). I cannot follow Gressmann in his learned comments on this episode of the Gilgamesh story. Another Semitic story-teller reminded his hearers that murder was committed just as soon as there were two brothers on this earth to get into a quarrel. Semitic humor is apt to be grim and biting.

As an appendix I have added a translation of a Sumerian "creation" text, published by Barton in *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 8. A new copy of the text (it cried to heaven for one) was given by Langdon in *Le poème sumérien*, Plates VII and VIII. My translation, made from the photograph, had practically the same shape it has now before Langdon's work appeared, but the delay in publication, occasioned by a visit to the scenes of the exploits of the Sumerian and Babylonian heroes, allowed me to profit by Langdon's study of the text.

[1] Besides the texts containing the first and sixth tablets, Ebeling found and published parts of Tablets II and III. But the latter have added nothing new (except some philological points) to our knowledge of the great epic.

[2] According to the bilingual text *KAR*, 4, ll. 25 f., the Lamgas (plural, not singular, as Ebeling and Landersdorfer construe) were slaughtered, and out of their blood mankind was formed. Just what class of divine beings the Lamgas represent is still uncertain.

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TABLET I

Text *KAR*, 118, 162, 163, and King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*.

*e-nu-ma e-liš la na-bu-u ša-ma-mu*[1]
*šap-liš am-ma-tum*[2] *šu-ma la zak-rat*[3]
*apsu-um-ma riš-tu-u za-ru-šu-un*
*mu-um-mu ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at*[4] *gim-ri-šu-un*
*mê*[pl]*-šu-nu iš-te-niš i-ḫi-ḳu-ma*[5]
*gi-pa-ra*[6] *la ki-iṣ-ṣu-ru ṣu-ṣa-a la še-ᵓ-u*[7]
*e-nu-ma ilâni*[8] *la šu-pu-u ma-na-ma*
*šu-ma la zuk-ku-ru ši-ma-ta*[9] *la ši-i-mu*[10]
*ib-ba-nu-ma ilâni ki-rib-šu-un*
[d]*laḫ-mu* [d]*la-ḫa-mu uš-ta-pu-u šu-mi*[11] *iz-zak-ru*
*a-di-i*[12] *ir-bu-u i-ši-ḫu*
*an-šar* [d]*ki-šar ib-ba-nu-u e-li*[13]*-šu-nu at-ru*
*ur-ri-ku umê*[pl] *uṣ-ṣi-pu šanâte*[pl][14]
[d]*a-nu-um a-pil-šu-nu ša-nin*[15] *abê*[pl][16]*-šu*
*an-šar* [d]*a-nu-um bu-uk-ra-šu u-maš-šil-ma*[17]
*u* [d]*a-nu-um tam-ši-la-šu u-lid* [d]*nu-dim-mud*
[d]*nu-dim-mud ša abê-šu ša-liṭ-šu-nu šu-u*[18]
*pal-ka uz-ni ḫa-sis e-mu-ḳan pu-uḳ-ḳu-ul*[19]
*gu-uš-šur maᵓ-diš a-na a-lit abi-šu an-šar*
*la i-ši ša-nin ina ilâni*[pl] *at-ḫe-e-šu*[20]
*in-nin-du-ma at-ḫu-u ilâni*[pl]*(ni)*[21]
*e-šu-u ti-amat kiššat(?)*[22] *na-ṣir-šu-nu iš-tab-bu*[23]
*da-al-ḫu-nim-ma ša ti-amat kar-as-sa*[24]

[1] 162, *mi*.
[2] *Ibid.*, *ab-ba-tu*.
[3] *Ibid.*, *ru*.
[4] *Ibid.*, *át*.
[5] *Ibid.*, *i-ḫi-iḳ-ḳu-ma*.
[6] *Ibid.*, *ru*.
[7] *Ibid.*, *i*.
[8] *AN-AN*, used interchangeably with *AN-MEŠ* in these texts.
[9] 162, *te*.
[10] *Ibid.*, *ši-mu*.
[11] 118, *šu-ta-pu-u-šu-nu*.
[12] *Ibid.*, *a-di-ma(?)*.
[13] *Ibid.*, *eli*
[14] *MU-AN-NA-MEŠ*.
[15] 162, *ša-ni-nu*.
[16] 118, *AD-AD*.
[17] *Ibid.*, over erasure.
[18] 162, *šu-ma;* 163 omits.
[19] 162 and 163, *pu-un-gul*.
[20] 163, *AD-MEŠ=abê*[pl].
[21] *Ibid.*, *nu*.
[22] 118 seems to have *kiš=kiššat*, while 163 has end of [*kiš-š*]*at*.
[23] So 163; 118 has *la*.
[24] 163, *ka-ras-sa*.

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TABLET I

Translation.

When above the heaven was not named,
below the earth was not called by name,
but Apsu, the primeval, their progenitor,
Mummu and Tiamat, who bore all of them,
their waters as one they[1] mingled:
(when) reeds were not yet matted together, marshes had not yet appeared,
when the gods had not yet been fashioned, not one,
none was called by name, destinies were not fixed:
then the gods were created in their[1] midst.
Lahmu and Lahamu were fashioned, were called by name;
as they grew they became mighty.
Anshar and Kishar were created—they were (now) more than they.[2]
Long were the days; years were added thereto:
Anu, their son, rival of his fathers—
Anshar made Anu, his first-born, (their) equal.
Then Anu begat Nudimmud (in) his (own) image.
Nudimmud became master of his fathers;
keen (open-eared), thoughtful, mighty in strength,
stronger, by far, than his begetter, his father Anshar:
he had no equal among the gods, his brothers.
So came into being the brothers, the gods.
They perturbed Tiamat, they overpowered all[3] of their guards,
troubling the belly of Tiamat.

[1] The three elements of chaos, Apsu, Mummu, and Tiamat.

[2] Perhaps, "were stronger than they." I take it to mean that the gods were now in the majority.

[3] The reading *kiššat*, "all," is not beyond question.

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*i-na šu-ʾa-ru šu-du-ru*[1] *ki-rib AN-KUN-NA*
*la na-ši-ir apsu-u ri-gim-šu-un*
*u ti-amat* [*šu*]-*ḳa-am-mu-ma-*[*at . . . . š*]*u-un*[2]
*im-ḫaṣ-ṣa-am-ma ip-še-ta-šu-nu* [*e-li-šu-un*]
*la ṭa-bat al-kat-su-nu šu-nu-ti i-ga-me-la*[3]
*i-nu-šu apsû za-ri ilâni ra-bi-u-tim*
*is-si-ma* $^{d}$*mu-um-mu suk-kal-la-šu i-zak-kar-šu*
$^{d}$*mu-um-mu suk-kal-li*[4] *mu-ṭib-ba ka-bit-ti-ia*
*al-kam-ma ṣi-ri-iš*[5] *ti-amat i ni-*[*il-lik*]
*il-li-ku-ma ḳu-ud-mi-iš*[6] *ti-*[*amat*][7] *sak-pu*
*a-ma-ti im-tal-li-ku aš-šum ilâni* [*mârê-*]*šu-un*
[*apsû pa*]-*a-šu i-pu-*[*šam-ma*] *izakkar-ši*
*a-na ti-amat el-li-tu-ma i-za*[*k-kar a-ma-tum*]
*im-*[*ḫaṣṣamma?*][8] *al-kat-su-nu e-li-ia*

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Text *KAR*, 117, 162; *CT*, XIII, 31 (Rm. 982+80−7−17,178); and King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation.*

$^{d}$*mu-um-mu i-te-dir ki-šad-*[*su*][9]
*uš-ba-am-ma bir-ka-a-šu u-na-aš-šak*[10] *ša-a-šu*
*mim*[11]*-mu-u ik-pu-du ina puḫru-uš-*[*šu-un*]
*a-na*[12] *ilâni bu-uk-ri-šu-nu uš-tan-nu-ni*
*iš*[13]*-mu-nim-ma ilâni*$^{pl}$ *i-dul-lu*
*ḳu-lu iṣ-ba-tu ša-ḳu-um-meš uš-bu*
*pal*(*?*)*-ka*(*?*)[14] *uz-ni it-pe-ša*[15] *te-li-*[*ʾa*]
$^{d}$*e-a ḫa-sis mim-ma i-še-*[*ʾa*]*-a me-ki-šu-un*
*ib-šim-šum-ma uṣ-rat ka-li u-kin-šu*
*u-nak-kil*[16] *šu-tu-ra ta-a-šu el-lum*
*im-ni-šum-ma ina mê*$^{pl}$ *u-šap-ši-*[*iḫ*(*?*)][17]
*šit-tu ir-te-ḫi-šu ṣa-lil ṭu-up-k*[*a-tum*]

[1] Reading *šuduru* is based upon 118 +163 +(45,528 +46,614).
[2] Here the Ashur texts break off.
[3] Very doubtful.
[4] Vars., *lu*, *sukallu*.
[5] Var., *riš*.
[6] Var., *ḳud-meš*.
[7] Var., *ta-a-ma-ti*.
[8] Cf. l. 27. [9] So King.
[10] Nineveh text, *ša-ka*.
[11] *ŠAL*-sign; 162, has *an-n*[*u-ti?*].
[12] 162, omits.
[13] So 162, 117 has *it*.
[14] 162, *šu-i* (cf. M-A, *šuʾu*).
[15] K. 4,488, *šu*.
[16] Nineveh text, *ki-il*.
[17] For restoration of this and following line, see Zimmern, *MDVG*, 21 (1917), 216.

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In ———[1] they mourned(?) in the midst of ———.[2]
Apsu (could) not diminish their uproar,
and Tiamat was distressed by their . . . ;
their deeds "smote" [them],
their way was not good, they ———.
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
cried to Mummu, his messenger, saying unto him:
"Mummu, my messenger, who rejoicest my soul,[3]
come, to Tiamat let us go."
They went and before Tiamat they lay down.
They consulted on a plan concerning the gods, their sons.
Apsu opened his mouth, addressing her,
to the shining Tiamat he spoke:
"Their way annoys me."[4]

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Mummu fell upon his neck,[5]
took him on his knees, kissed him.
Whatever they planned in their assembly
to the gods, their first-born was repeated.
The gods heard[6] it, they rushed about(?),
they kept silent, they sat in sorrow.
Then the keen, the wise, the exalted,
Ea, perceiving all things, saw their plot,
he reproduced[7] it, the outline of the whole he set down.
He cunningly applied his superior, holy (pure) incantation,
he told[8] it off, with water he quieted him(?).
Sleep overcame him, lying in the cave;

[1] Ebeling translates "mit Gesang," which hardly fits the context.

[2] Ebeling, "Götterwohnung(?)." Is the god Duruna (*CT*, XXIV, 2, 11) a personification of "the heavenly abode"?

[3] Literally, "liver."

[4] For what follows, see King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, I, 8 f.

[5] Very doubtful.

[6] The variant reading has *itmu*, which Ebeling renders "cursed."

[7] We would say, "he plotted it on paper."

[8] "Counted."

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*u-ša-aṣ-lil-ma apsa-am ri-ḫi šit-tu*
*$^{d}$mu-um-mu uṭ-la-tuš da-la-biš*[1] *ku-u-ru*
*ip-ṭur rik-si-šu iš-ta-ḫat a-kit . . . .*
*me-lam-me-šu it-ba-la šu-u u-ta-di-na[m(?)]*[2]
*ik-me-šu-ma apsa-am i-na-ra-aš-[šu]*
*$^{d}$mu-um-mu i-ta-sir eli-šu ip-tar-ka*
*u-kin-ma eli apsî šu-bat-s[u]*
*$^{d}$mu-um-mu it-ta-maḫ u-kal ṣir-rit-su*
*ul-tu ši-ni-e*[3]*-šu ik-mu-u i-sa-a-du*
*$^{d}$e-a uš-ziz-zu*[4] *ir-nit-ta-šu*[5] *eli*[6] *ga-ri-šu*
*kir-biš kum-mi-šu*[7] *šup*[8]*-šu-ḫi-iš i-nu-uḫ-ḫu*
*im-bi-šum-ma apsû u-ad-du-u eš-ri-e-ti*
*aš-ru-uš-šu gê-par-ra-šu*[9] *u-šar-šid-ma*
*$^{d}$e-a ($^{d}$laḫ-mu) $^{d}$la-ḫa-mu ḫi-ra-tuš ina rab-ba-a-te uš-bu*
*ina ki-iṣ-ṣi šimâte$^{pl}$*[10] *ad-ma-an uṣurâte$^{pl}$*[11]
*li-ʾ-u li-ʾ-u-ti abkal*[12] *ilâni$^{pl}$ an-šar uš-tar-ḫi*
*ina ki-rib apsî ib-ba-ni an-šar*
*ina ki-rib elli apsî ib-ba-ni an-šar*
*ib-ni-šu-ma $^{d}$laḫ-mu*[13] *a-ba-šu*
*$^{d}$la-ḫa-mu ummi-šu mur-ša-as-šu*
*i-ti-nik-šu-ma ṣir-rit $^{d}$ištarâte$^{pl}$*
*ta-ri-tu it-tar-ru-šu pul-ḫa-a-ta uš-ma-al-li*
*šam-ḫat nab-[ni]t*[14]*-su za-ri-ir ni-ši êni-šu*
*uṭ-ṭu-la-at*[15] *ṣi-ta-šu mu-šir ul-tu ul-la*
*i-mur-šu-ma $^{d}$laḫ-mu*[16] *ba-nu-u abu-šu*
*i-riš im-mir lib-ba-šu ḫi-du-ta im-la*
*uš-te-is*[17]*-bi-šum-ma šu-un-na-at ili uṣ-ṣip(?)-šu(?)*
*šu-uš-ki ma-diš eli-šu-nu a-tar mim-mu-u*
*la na-da-a-ma*[18] *nu-uk-ku-la mi-na-tu-šu*
*ḫa-sa-siš la na-da-a a-ma-riš pa-aš-ka*

[1] Nineveh text evidently had *dal-la-[biš]*.
[2] Cf. Nineveh text.
[3] 163 omits.
[4] *Ibid.*, *sa*.
[5] *Ibid.*, *tuš*.
[6] 163, *e-li*.
[7] *Ibid.*, *ku-um-mi-šu*.
[8] *Ibid.*, *ḳa* (probably error).
[9] *Ibid.*, *gi-pa-ra*.
[10] *NAM-MEŠ*.
[11] *GIŠ-ḪAR-MEŠ*.
[12] *NUN-ME*
[13] *CT*, XIII, 31, $^{d}$*E-a*.
[14] *Ibid.*, *ni*.
[15] *Ibid.*, *lat*.
[16] *Ibid.*, $^{d}$*a-[num]*.
[17] *Ibid.*, *ta-as*.
[18] *Ibid.*, *la lam-da-ma*.

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he caused Apsu to lie down, overcome by sleep.
As to Mummu, his manhood was woefully distressed,
he (Ea) loosed his (Mummu's) "bands," tore off his . . . ,
he took away his splendor, he (Mummu) lay there.
He bound him, namely Apsu, and slew him.
Mummu he locked up, used violence upon him.
He established his abode upon Apsu.
Mummu he seized, holding him by his rope.
After he had bound the two, and overpowered (them),
Ea established his triumph over his foes,
and rested quietly in his chamber.
He dragged him away, namely Apsu, and appointed (him) for shrines:
in his place he founded his park(?).
Ea (Lahmu) and Lahamu, his spouse, sat in splendor,
in the abode of the fates, the dwelling of canons,[1]
the mighty one of the mighty, the chief of the gods, Anshar he begat;
in the midst of the Apsu he created Anshar,
in the midst of the bright (holy) Apsu he created Anshar.
There created him Lahmu, his father.
Lahamu, his mother, bore him,
the breast of the goddesses suckled him,
a nurse cared for him, she filled him with terrors.
Mighty was his stature, brilliant the glance of his eye,
noble (manly) his going forth, gracious(?) from of old.
Lahmu, his begetter, his father, saw him,
he rejoiced, he beamed, his heart was full of joy.
He caused him to be desired, equality with the gods he gave him in addition.
He was exceedingly tall, in all respects greater than they (his parents).
Beyond comprehension was the beauty of his members,
beyond imagining, hard for the eyes to look upon.

[1] A prize should be offered for a good English rendering of *uṣurâte*.

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*irba*[1] *ênâ-šu* *irba uznâ*[-*šu*]
*šap-ti*[2]*-šu ina šu-ta-pu-li girri*[3] . . . . .
*ir-bu-u*[4] *4-ta-a-an* . . . . . .
*u ênâ ki-ma*[5] *šu-a-tu i-maš-*[*ša-lu-ni*]
*ul-lu-ma*[6] *ina ilâni* . . . . . .
*meš-ri-tu-šu* . . . . . .
. . . *-ṣi ilu* . . . . . .
. . . . *-tu* . . . . . .
. . . . *-me* . . . . . .

## TABLET VI

Text *KAR*, 164; King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, Pl. XXXV, 92,629; *CT*, XIII, 24, K. 12,000, *b*, and 23, K. 3,449, *a*.

[$^{d}$*mar*]*duk zik-ri ilâni ina še-mi-šu* [*ub*]*-bal lib-ba-šu i-ban-na-a nik-la-a-te*
[*ip*]*-šu pi-i-šu a-na* $^{d}$*e-a i-*[*zak-kar*] *ša ina lib-bi-šu uš-ta-mu-u i-nam-din mil-ku*
*da-mi lu-uk-ṣur-ma iṣ-ṣi-im-tum lu-šab-ši-ma*
*lu-uš-ziz-ma LU-GAL-LU-a lu a-me-lu šum-šu*
*lu-ub-ni-ma LU-GAL-LU-a a-me-lu*
*lu-u en-du dul-li*[7] *ilâni-ma šu-nu lu-u-pa-aš-ḫu*
*lu-ša-an-ni-ma al-ka-kat*[8] *ilâni lu-u-nak-kil*[9]
*iš-te-niš lu-kub-bu-tu-ma ana*[10] *ši-na lu-u-zi-zu*
*i-pul-šu-ma*[11] $^{d}$*e-a a-ma-tu*[12] *i-ḳab-bi-šu*
*aš-šu tap-šu-uḫ-ti ša ilâni u-ša-an-na-aš-šu ṭe-e-mu*
*li-in-na-ad-nam-ma iš-ten a-ḫu-šu-nu* | *šu-u li-ab-bit-ma nišê*$^{pl}$ *lip-pat-ḳu*
*lup-ḫu-ru-nim-ma ilâni rabûti*$^{pl}$ *an-ni li-in-na-din-ma šu-nu lik*[13]*-tu-nu*
$^{d}$*marduk u-paḫ-ḫir*[14]*-ma ilâni*$^{pl}$ *rabûte*$^{pl}$ *mil-kuš*[15] *u-*[*ma-*]$^{>}$*a-ar*[16] *i-nam-din ter-tu*

[1] *Ibid.*, *ir-ba.*
[2] *Ibid.*, *ta.*
[3] $^{d}$*GIŠ-BAR.*
[4] *CT*, *ir-bu-*$^{>}$-[*u*].
[5] *Ibid.*, *kîma.*
[6] *Ibid.*, *ul-lu-u-ma.*
[7] 92,629, *lu.*
[8] *Ibid.*, *ka-ti.*
[9] *Ibid.*, *ki-i*[*l*].
[10] *Ibid.*, *a-na.*
[11] *Ibid.*, *i-pu-ul-lu-šu-ma.*
[12] *Ibid.*, *tum.*
[13] *Ibid.*, *li-i*[*k*].
[14] *Ibid.*, *ḫi-ir.*
[15] Very doubtful.
[16] 92,629, *ma-*$^{>}$*a-ra.*

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Four were his eyes, four his ears;
his lips breathed out fire, like those of the fire-god.
There grew for him four ears,
and of eyes he had the same number.
Exalted was he among the gods, . . . . . .
His members . . . . . .

TABLET VI

Translation.

When Marduk heard the word of the gods, his heart was moved and he devised cunning plans;
he opened his mouth, to Ea he spoke, as to that which he had planned in his heart, he gave counsel.
"Blood will I fashion (lit., bind) and bone will I cause to be.
I will set up an *amelu*, man shall be his name,
I will create the *amelu*, man.
They (mankind) shall perform the service of the gods, these (the gods) shall be pacified.
I will change the 'ways' of the gods, cunningly will I contrive it.
All alike shall they be honored, and to their (several ways) let them be assigned."
Ea answered him, the word he spoke,
for the pacification of the gods, he imparted to him a plan.
"Let one of their brothers be offered up, let him be destroyed and let people be formed.
Let the gods gather together, let this one be offered up, let them remain."
Marduk assembled the great gods, he put forth his plan(?), his command he gave.

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*ip-šu pi-i-šu ilâni u-paḳ-ḳad | šarru a-na $^{d}$a-nun-na-ki a-ma-ta i-zak-kar*

*lu-u-ki-nam-ma maḫ-ru u-nim-bu-ku-un*
*ki-na-a-ti a-ta-ma-a i-nim-ma-a it-ti-ia*
*a-nu-um-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḳu-un-tu*
*$^{d}$ti-amat u-ša-bal[1]-ki-tu-ma ik-ṣur-ru ta-ḫa-zu*
*li-in-na-ad-nam-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḳu-un-tu*
*ar-nu-uš-šu lu-u-ša-aš-ša-a pa-ša-ṭu lušešiba(ba)*
*i-pu-lu-šu-ma $^{d}$igigi ilâni rabûte$^{pl}$*
*a-pil šarri dim-me-ir šamê irṣitim ma-lik ilâni be-la-šu-un*
*$^{d}$k[in]-gu-ma ša ib-nu-u tu-ḳu-un-tu*
*ti-a[mat] uš-bal-ki-tu-ma [i]k-ṣu-ru ta-ḫa-zu*
*ik-mu-š[u] maḫ-riš $^{d}$e-a u-[r]u-šu | an-nam i-me-du-šu-ma da-me-šu ip-tar-ᵓ-u*
*ina da-me-šu ib-[na] a-me-lu-tu | i-na [dul]-li ilâni-ma ilâni um-taš-šir*
*ul-tu a-me-lu i-i[b-ba]-nu-u $^{d}$e-a i[r-t]e-ṣib dul-lu ilâni i-mi-du a-ša-a-šu*
*šip-ru šu-u la na-ṭu-u ḫa-sa-siš | ina nik-la-a-ti ša $^{d}$marduk . . . $^{d}$nu-dim-mud*
*$^{d}$marduk šar ilâni u-zaᵓ-iz | $^{d}$a-nun-na-ki . . . . . e-liš u šap-liš*
*u-ad-di a-na $^{d}$a-num te- . . na-ṣa-ru lib-bi . . . ma-ṣar-tu*
*uš-taš-ni-ma al-ka-kat irṣitim(tim) . . . . [šamê](e) u irṣitim (tim) . . . . .*
*ul-tu te-ri-e-tim $^{d}$[marduk] . . . . u-ma-[ᵓ-a]-ru*
*$^{d}$a-nun-na-ki ša šamê(e) . . . . . .*
*$^{d}$a-nun-na-ki [ša irṣitim(ti]m). nu(?) . i-še . . . . .*
*a-na $^{d}$marduk be-la-šu-nu šu-nu iz-zak-[ru]*
*i $^{d}$nannaru(ŠEŠ-KI) be-lí ša šu-bar-ra-ni iš-ku-nu-ma*
*mi-nu-u du-muḳ-ḳa-ni ina maḫ-ri-ka*

[1] K. 12,000, *b*, *uš-bal*.

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He opened his mouth, gave the gods their orders: as king to the Anunnaki he addressed the word:
"The former (word) which I spoke to you, surely it shall abide;
trustworthy are the words I utter; 'tis a 'word' from me.
Who was it who created warfare,
who let loose Tiamat, who 'joined' battle?
Let him be offered up who created warfare.
I will let him bear his penalty (sin), 'oblivion' I will cause him to inhabit."
Then answered him the Igigi, the great gods:
"Son of a king, god of heaven and earth, counselor of the gods, our lord:
Kingu it was who created warfare,
who let loose Tiamat, who 'joined' battle."
They bound him, before Ea they brought him, punishment they laid upon him, they pierced him to the blood.
From his blood he[1] made mankind, from the service of the gods[2] he released the gods.
After he had created man, Ea organized the service of the gods, they laid it on him (man).
This work was not done (very) carefully, through the cunning of Marduk Nudimmud (Ea) [made it acceptable].
Marduk, the king, made a division among the gods, the Anunnaki [he assigned to places] above and below.
To Anu he assigned the station . . . to guard in the midst (of heaven) . . . . a watch.
He changed the "ways" of earth . . . . . of heaven and and earth(?) . . . . . .
After Marduk had issued his commands,
the Anunnaki of heaven . . . . . .
the Anunnaki [of earth] . . . . . .
To Marduk their lord they spoke:
"O Nannar, lord, who hast established our freedom,
what grace have we before thee (how can we find grace before thee)?

[1] Note that Ea creates mankind, Marduk makes the proposal.
[2] Ebeling takes this phrase with what goes before.

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*i ni-pu-uš pa-rak-ki ša na-bu-u zi-kir-šu*
*ku-um-mu lu [n]u-bat-ta-ni i nu-šap-ši-iḫ ki-rib-šu*
*i nit-ti-pa-[aš] ni-me-da a-a[d-man]*
*ina ûme(me) ša ni-kaš-ša-da nu-šap-šiḫ kir-bu-uš*
*$^{d}$marduk a-ni-tu ina še-me-e-šu*
*[ki-m]a ûmu(mu) im-me-ru zi-mu-šu ma-$^{?}$-diš*
*ipšâ(DIM-ša) $^{[al]u}$Bâb-ilê$^{pl}$ $^{ki}$ša te-ri-ša ši-pir-šu*
*lib-ba-na alu lip-pa-ti-iḳ-ma pa-[r]ak-ka ip-ra*
*$^{d}$[a]-nun-na-[ki] it-ru-ṣi al-lu šat-tu iš-ta-at li-bit-ta-šu [il-bi-nu]*
*ša-ni-tu šattu (MU-AN-NA) ina ka-ša-di | ša e-sag-ila mi-iḫ-rit apsî ul-lu-u r[i-e-ša-šu]*
*ib-nu-u-ma zig-gur-rat apsî e-li-te | a-na $^{d}$marduk $^{d}$en-lil $^{d}$e-a u-ta-a-šu u-kin-nu lib-ba*
*ina tar-ba-a-ti ma-ḫar-šu-nu u-[šat]-ba-am-ma | šur-šeš u-[š]ab i-na-aṭ-ṭa-lu ḳar-na-a-šu*
*ul-tu e-[sag]-ila i-pu-šu ši-pir-šu | $^{d}$a-nun-na-ki kal-šu-nu pa-rak-ki-šu-nu ib-taš-mu*
*a-na e-sag-ila ša[1] pâṭ apsî kal-šu-nu paḫ-ru | i-na BAR-MAH ša ib-nu-u šu-bat-su*
*ilâni abê$^{pl}$-šu ṣu[r][2]-ta-šu uš-te-šib | an-nam Ba-ab-i-lí šu-bat na-ar-me-ku-un*
*nu-ḳa-a aš-ru-uš-š[u ṣ]u[r-t]a-šu . . . | u-ši-bu-ma ilâni rabûte$^{pl}$*
*zar-ba-bu iš-ku-nu ina ki-ri-e-ti-[šu-nu] | ul-tu[3] karana(na) iš-ku-nu ki-rib-šu*
*ina e-sag-ila kas- . . . . . [ta(?)-kal-tu]*
*kun-na te-ri-e-ti . . . mur(?) . . . . . u-ṣu-ra-a-te*
*man-za-az šamê(e) u irṣitim(tim) SAG-[DU] i-na(?)ilani gim-ra-su-un*

[1] So, apparently, Ebeling.

[2] Here and in the next line Ebeling seems to restore ṭir-ti. But, if the text is at all as copied, this restoration does not seem possible.

[3] K. 3,449, *a, iš-tu.*

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Come, let us make a shrine, whose name shall be proclaimed (afar),
an abode in which we may have our rest at night.
Come, let us make for ourselves a room, a . . . . . .
On the day that we accomplish this, let us rest therein."
When Marduk heard this,
like the day, his face became exceedingly bright.
"Build Babylon, whose construction you have desired;
let a city be built, let there be fashioned a covered(?) shrine."
The Anunnaki carried the basket,[1] the first year [they made] its bricks.
On the approach of the second year they raised aloft the head of Esagila, over against the Apsu,
they built the *zigurrat* (temple-tower) of the upper Apsu, for Marduk, Enlil (and) Ea established his heart's desire therein.
In majesty before them he[2] let it rise up: he[2] sat on the ground, they looked up at his two horns.
After they had completed the construction of Esagila, the Anunnaki, all of them, built themselves shrines.
To Esagila which is on the border (edge) of the Apsu, all of them gathered: in the great shrine which they had built for his abode,
he caused the gods, his fathers, to sit down at his board (with the words): "This Babylon, let it be the abode of your dwelling."
"We will wait in his place, at his board [we will sit down]."[3] The great gods sat down,
the bowl they set down at their(?) banquet. After they had put the wine therein,
in Esagila [they feasted—and got drunk].
Laws were laid down, canons [fixed].
The station of heaven and earth, . . . . . among(?) the gods, all of them.

[1] A free rendering of a well-known but obscure phrase. [2] Marduk?

[3] *Ṣurtu* is mentioned together with daggers, knives, etc. Cf. *KB*, VI[1], 62, and Sargon, "Annals," l. 136. But this can hardly be the same word as that in our text.

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*ilâni rabûti ḫa-ar-[ra-an . . . ] u-ši-bu-ma*
*ilâni šimâti*$^{pl}$ *7 šu-nu a-na . . . . [u]k-tin-nu*
*na-ši-ma*[2] $^{d}$*en-lil* $^{iš}$*[kakka ina pa]ni-šu-nu id-di*
*sa-par*[3] *ša i-te-ep-pu-šu i-mu-ru ilâni*$^{pl}$ *abê*$^{pl}$*-šu*
*i-mu-ru-ma* $^{iš}$*ḳašta ḳi-i nu-uk-ku-lat bi-nu-s[a]*[4]
*ip-šit i-te-ep-pu-šu i-na-a-du abê*$^{pl}$*-šu*
*iš-ši-ma* $^{d}$*a-num ina puḫur ilâni i-ḳab-bi*
$^{iš}$*ḳašta it-te-*[5]*šik ši-i . . . . im-bi-ma ša* $^{iš}$*ḳašti ḳi-a-am šumê-ša*
*i-ṣu a-rik il-ti-nu-um-ma*[6] *ša-nu . . . . . .*
*šal-šu šum-ša* $^{kakkab}$ *ḳašta ina šamê(e) . . . . .*
*u-kin-ma gis-gal-la-ša*[7] *. . . . . .*
*ul-tu ši-ma-a-ti ša . . . . . .*
*[id]-di-ma* $^{iš}$*ḳussa . . . . . .*
*[dan]-nu-um ina šamê . . . . . .*
*[ip]-ḫu-ru-ma . . . . . .*
*. . . . . .* $^{d}$*marduk . . . . . .*
*. . . . ki ru . . . . . .*
(*Lines 75–77, text completely gone.*)
*. . . . ma . . . . . .*
*u-ša-tir . . . . . .*
*a-na zik-ri-šu-nu . . . . . .*
*ip-šu pî-šu . . . . . li-din(?) . . . . . .*
*. . bi-ku . . ku . . . tu . . . . . u an-ni . . .*
*lu-u šu-uš-ḳu-ma ma-ru . . . . li-iš . . . . . .*
*e-nu-su lu-u šu-tu-rat . ni ru . ṣa . . . .*
*li-pu-uš-ma ri-e-ut-ni . . . du . . . . na . . . .*
*aḫ-ra-taš ûme(me) la ma-še-e . . . . . še . . . .*
*li-kin-šu ana abê*$^{pl}$*-šu nin-[da-bi]-e . . . . . .*
*za-nin-us-su-un li-te-puš(?) . . . . . su . . . . .*
*li-še-ṣi-in ḳut-[rin-n]a a- . . . . . .*
*tam-ṣil ina šamê(e) i-te-ep[-pu-uš] . . . . . .*
*li-ad-di-ma ina(?) sag(?) . . . . . šu(?)*
*la-a u- . . . . ta-su . . . . . kit*

[1] *NAM-MEŠ.*
[2] K. 3,449, *a, im-ḫur-ma.*
[3] *Ibid., sa-pa-ra.*
[4] The text seems to call for *su.*
[5] K. 3,449, *a, ta.*
[6] *Ibid., lu iš-te-nu-um-ma.*
[7] *gi-is-gal-la-ša.*

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The great gods sat down.[on their ways (paths)].
The gods of fate, seven are they, for . . . . . were stationed.
Enlil lifted up his weapon, before them he laid it down;
the net which he had made, the gods, his fathers beheld it,
they beheld the bow, how cunning was its workmanship;
the work which he had done, his fathers praised it.
Anu took (it) up, in the assembly of the gods he spoke,
the bow he kissed (saying): it is . . . . . and he called off the names of the bow thus:
"Longwood is its first (name), its second . . . . . .
Its third name is Bow-star, in heaven(?) it . . . . . ."
He fixed its station . . . . . .
After the fates of (heaven and earth had been decreed) . . . . . .
and he set up a throne . . . . . .
Mighty in heaven . . . . . .
They gathered together . . . . . .
(*Lines 73 to 78 are almost totally gone.*)
He made greater . . . . . .
to their word . . . . . .
He opened his mouth . . . . .
. . . . . .
"Let him be exalted, the son, let him . . . . . .
His rule, truly it is resplendent . . . . . .
Let him exercise sovereignty over us . . . . . .
In days to come, let . . . . . not be forgotten.
Let him establish the regular offerings for his fathers,
for their maintenance let him provide.
Let him cause (the gods, his fathers,) to smell the incense.
An image in heaven . . . . he has made . . . . . .
let him appoint(?) and . . . . . .
Let him (them?) not . . . . . ."

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*ip-šu pî-šu . . . . . li-šik-ḳu*
*nin-da-b[i]-e li-in-na-ša-a ilu-ši-na*[1] *$^{d}$ištar-ši-na*
*a-a im-ša-a ilu-ši-na li-kil-la*
*ma- -ši-na liš-te-pa-a pa-rak-ki-ši-na li-tip-ša*
*lu-mes-sa-ma ṣal-mat kakkadi i-la-ni*
*[na]-a-ši ma-la šu-ma ni-im-bu-u šu-u lu-u el-ni*
*[i] | nim-bi-e-ma ḫa-ša-a šu-me-e-šu*
*si(?)-ka-tuš lu-u šu-pa-a ip-še-tuš lu-u maš-la*
*$^{d}$marduk ša ul-tu ṣi-ti-šu im-bu-u-šu a-bu-šu $^{d}$a-num*
*ša-ki-in me-ḫu-tu šuš-ku-tu*[2] *mu-daḫ-ḫi-du u-ri-šin*
*ša ina $^{iš}$kakki-šu a-bu-bu ik-mu-u ša pu-ḫur(?)*
*ilâni abê$^{pl}$-šu i-di-ru ina šap-ša-ḳi*
*lu-u ma-ru-ti-šu ša ilâni ni-bu-u-šu-ma*
*ina nu-ri-šu nam-ru lit-tal-la-ku šu-nu ka-a-a-na*
*nišê$^{pl}$ ša ib-nu-u ši-kit-ti nab-(?)*
*dul-li ilâni i-mid-ma šu-nu ip-pa-aš-ḫu*
*. . . . . ti kakkab e-ni-nu*
*lu-u . . . . . [na]p-lu-su šu-nu ša-a-šu*
*ilu ma-ru-tuš lu-u ilu . . . . . šu(ma)*
*mu-ṭib lib-bi $^{d}$a-nun-na-ki mu-šap-ši[ḫ] . . . . . a*
*$^{d}$ma-ru-du-uk-ku lu-u tu-kul-tu mât-su [u nišê]$^{pl}$-šu*
*ša-a-šu-ma lit-ta-ʾi-da i-šu nišê$^{pl}$ . . . . . .*
*$^{d}$BARA muštâlum (ŠÀ-KÚŠ-Ù) iz-zi-iz u ṣir-ri-sa . . . . .*
*ra-pa-aš lib-ba-šu la-a-ʾ-id ka-ras-[su]*
*$^{d}$šarru dim-me-ir šamê irṣitim ša šum-šu i-nim-bu-u pu-ḫur-ni*
*zik-ri pi-i-šu nu-ša-aš-šum | eli ilâni abe$^{pl}$-šu*

[1] The feminine suffix refers to mankind, *amêlûtu*.

[2] Or *me-iḫ-tim tuš-šu?*

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He opened his mouth . . . ". . . . . let them kiss.
Let offerings be brought for their god, their goddess.
Let them not forget, their god let them uphold (maintain).
Let them adorn their ———, their shrine let them build.
Let them, the gods cleanse(?) the blackheads (the people).
We, by whatever name we call (him), he is our god.
We will surely mention his fifty names.
His ———, truly it (they) are splendid, his works, truly they are ever the same.
Marduk, who, on his going forth, was proclaimed by his father, Anu,
he establishes ———, he enriches their stalls(?).
He it was who bound the flood with his weapon, who saved the totality of
the gods, his fathers, in (their) distress.
His sonship of the gods, they proclaimed it for him.
In his bright light let them walk, they, continuously.
(On) the people whom he created, creatures of life(?),
the service of the gods he imposed, and these were pacified.
. . . . . the star . . . . . .
May they look upon with favor(?), they, upon him.
The god, truly his sonship . . . . . .
He it is who gladdens the heart of the Anunnaki, who pacifies the Igigi(?)
Merodach,[1] truly the mainstay of his land and his people (is he).
Him let them praise, let his people have(?) ———.
(As) the god Bara, the umpire (decider) he stood(?), the scepter(?) . . . . .
wide was his heart, warm his bowels.[2]
Sharru (king), god of heaven and earth, whose name was proclaimed by our assembly,
the word of his mouth let us cause to be borne to the gods, his fathers.

[1] Note that Maruduk rather than Marduk is the correct pronunciation of the name of the chief god of Babylon.

[2] I take it he was possessed of bowels of compassion.

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*lu-u mu-lid ilâni ša šamê(e) u irṣitim ka-li-šu-nu*
*šarru tak-pir-ti-šu ilâni lu-u . . . . . uš-šap-šu*
*$^{d}$na-ri šar gim-me-ir šamê irṣitim šum-šu ša ni-iz-kur a-šar ilâni ka-la-ma*
*ša ina šamê(e) u irṣitim(tim) it-ta-ad-du-u šu-bat-ni ina puš-ḳi*
*ana $^{d}$igigi u $^{d}$a-nun-na-ki u-za-ʾ-i-zu man-za-zu*
*ana šu-me-šu ilâni liš-tar-i-bu li-nu-šu aš-ru-ti*
*$^{d}$asar-lu-šar šum-šu ša im-bu-u a-bu-šu $^{d}$a-num*
*šu-u lu-u nu-ru ša ilâni GIS-ṬU-U(ḳuddu) dan-nu*
*ša ki-ma . . . . ma-la par-si ili u ma-a-ti*
*ina ša-aš-me dan-ni e-ti-ru šu-bat-ni ina pušḳi*
*$^{d}$asar-lu-šar il(u) balâṭi (DINGIR NAM-TI-LA-ŠÚ) ša-niš im-bu-u$^{d}$ širu(muš)-man-na(?)*
*ša ki-ma bi-nu-ti-šu-ma ig-še-ru-ni ilâni ab-tu-ti*
*be-lum ša ina šip-ti-šu ellitim(tim) u-bal-li-ṭu ilâni mîtûti$^{pl}$*
*mu-ab-bit ik-ru-ti za-ʾi-ru . . . . . .*
*. . ilu nam-ru ša in-na-bu . . . . $^{pl}$-šu*
*ilu el-lu mu-ul-lil a-lak-ti-ni*
*. . . . [i]m-bu-u an-šar $^{d}$laḫ-mu u $^{d}$la-ḫa-mu*
*a-na(?) . . . . . -šu-nu iz-zak-ru*
*ni . . . . . ni-it-ta-bi šumê$^{pl}$-šu*
*ki[1] na . . . . . -zuk-ra*
*iḫ-du-u . . [i]š-mu-u zi-kir-šu-un*
*ina up-šu-ukin-na-ku uš-ta-ad [-di(?)]-šu-nu iš-kat-su-un*
*ša ma-ru kar-ra-du mu-tir gi-mil-li-ni*
*ni-i-nu ša za-ni-ni[2] nu-ul-li šum-šu*
*u-ši-bu-ma ina ukkin-na[3]-šu-nu i-nam-bu-u ši-ma-a-šu*
*ina mi-e-si[4] na[k]-meš-tu[5]-šu-nu u-zak-ka-ru-ni šum-šu*

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*$^{d}$asar-ri ša-rik mi-riš-ti iz-ra-a-te u-kin-nu*
*. . . . . 6 $^{kam}$ E-nu-ma e-liš . . . . .*
*. . . . gis-ṭu-u . . . . . .*

[1] 92,629, rev., *ki-i na*.
[2] *Ibid.*, seems to have omitted one *ni*.
[3] *Ibid.*, omits, reading *puḫri*?
[4] *Ibid.*, *su*.
[5] *Ibid.*, *na-gab*.

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Truly he is the begetter of the gods of heaven and earth, all of them.
The king, whose purification . . . . . they have caused to be made.
(He is) the river-god, king of all of heaven and earth, whose name we have mentioned: a place for all of the gods
who are in heaven and earth, he established as our abode in our need.
To the Igigi and the Anunnaki he assigned (their) stations.
At his name let the gods tremble, let the holy places shake.
(He is) Asar-lu-shar, whose name his father Anu gave him;
he, surely he is the light of the gods, powerful torch(?),
who like ——— ——— every ——— of god and land,
who, in the mighty conflict, saved our abode in our distress.
Asar-lu-shar, god of life, secondly they named (him), ———,
who through his creative power, strengthened the perishing gods;
the lord, who with his holy incantation restored to life the dying gods.
Destroyer of ———, hater of . . . . . .
. . shining god, who . . . . . .
Bright god, brightener of our path,
. . . . Anshar, Lahmu, Lahamu,
. . . . . their . . . they called
. . . . . we spoke his names."
. . . . . .
They rejoiced, with gladness they heard their names.
In Upshukkinnaku he caused them to throw aside their fetters.
"Of the heroic son, our avenger,
we, of our patron, will exalt the name."
They sat down, in their assembly they proclaimed his worth,
in the ——— of all of them, they mentioned his name.

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(*Colophon.*)

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## APPENDIX: A SUMERIAN STORY OF BEGINNINGS

### OBVERSE

*ĝar-sag-an-ki-bi-da-ge*
*ud an-ni dingir-dingir a-nun-na im-tu-de-eš a-ba*
*mu $^{d}$ezinu nu-ub-da-mud-da nu-ub-da-an-sig-ga*
*uku-e-bi $^{d}$tak-ku nu-ub-da-an-dim-ma-aš*
*$^{d}$tak-ku-ra temen nu-mu-na-si-ga-aš*
*u nu-gù-a sila nu-ub-ra*
*uz nu-me-a maš nu-ub-ra*
*u-e sil(a)-a-bi nu-ub-tu-ud*
*uz-e maš-a-bi nu-ub-tu-ud*
*mu-$^{d}$ezinu kug-sud šurim-bi-da-ge*
*$^{d}$a-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám*
*še-šeš ud-ušu-ám nu-gál-la-ám*
*še-šeš ud-ninnu-ám nu-gál-la-ám*
*še-tur-tur še-kur-ra še á-dam kug-ga nu-gál-la-ám*
*ku-gar ku-ku-bi nu-gál-la-ám*
*$^{d}$tak-ku nu-ub-tu-ud men nu-íl*
*en dingir mer(aga)-si en-kal-kal nu-ub-tu-ud*
*$^{d}$ug bar-tum-ma la-ba-ra-e(d)*
*nam-lù-gàl-lu ud-ri-a-ge-e-ne*
*nig-kú-ù-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám*
*tug-ga tug-tug-bi nu-mu-un-zu-uš-ám*
*uku giš-gi-a-na su-ga(?) mu-un-tum*
*udu-dim KA-ba . . . . ú-mu-ni-ib-kú*
*a-sar-sar-ra (or, mú-sar-ra) . . . . . im-nag-nag-ne*
*ud-ba ki-sig . . . . . e-ne*
*e-bi . . . . . .*

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TRANSLATION

OBVERSE

In the mountain of heaven and earth,
when, above(?), the gods, the Anunna, were born,
green and the grain-god had not (yet) sprouted, had not (yet) become green;
his people, with Takku, had not (yet) been formed,
for Takku they (his people) had not (yet) heaped up a temple platform.
A ewe had not (yet) bleated, a lamb had not yet been dropped,
a she-goat had not (yet) baaed, a kid had not (yet) been dropped.
The ewe had not (yet) borne her lamb,
the she-goat had not (yet) borne her kid.
The grain of the grain-god and the fold (flocks)
the Anunna—the great gods are they—knew not (yet);
*shesh*-grain of thirty days there was none,
*shesh*-grain of sixty days there was none,
*turtur*-grain, *kurra*-grain, shining *adam*-grain, there was none.
There was no living in dwellings.
Takku had not (yet) been born, had not (yet) worn the crown,
the lord, the god of the horned tiara, the all-powerful lord, had not (yet) been born,
the sun-god, brightness bringing, had not (yet) gone forth.
Mankind, when they were created (on the day of their begetting),
food and sleep they knew not of,
garments for their covering they knew not of.
The people brought all kinds(?) of reeds from the marshes(?),
like sheep they ate grass with their mouths(?),
water of the gardens [from the ditches] they drank.
(*Rest of obverse too broken to allow of any translation.*)

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REVERSE

. . . .
. . . . .
*(nam-)lù-gàl-lu . . .*
*. . . ba $^{d}$En-ki-ge(?) . . .*
*a-a $^{d}$En-lil . . . . . .*
*iti-kug-ga dub ma-da-an . . . .*
*iti-kug-e(?) laḫ-ga-ám ma-da-ra-ab . . . .*
*$^{d}$En-ki $^{d}$En-lil-bi inim-kug gab-ku gù . . . . .*
*šurim $^{d}$ezin(u)-bi iti-kug-ta im-ma-da-ra . . . .*
*šurim-e amaš-a im-ma-ab . . . . . .*
*u-edin nig-dagar(?)-ra mu-un-na-ba-e-ne*
*$^{d}$ezin(u) . . . e mu-un-na-gá-gá-ne*
*sib(?)kap-par-bi mu-un-na-ba-e-ne*
*šurim amaš-a-na gub-ba-ni*
*sib amaš-a ĝe-li dù-dù-a*
*$^{d}$ezin(u) ab-sin-na gub-ba-ni*
*ki-el sig-ga ĝe-li gur-ru-ám*
*gan-ni-ta sag-zi il-la-ni*
*ĝe-gal an-na-ta du-du(laḫ?)-a-ne*
*šurim $^{d}$ezin(u)-bi ĝad-e mu-un-ag-eš*
*ukkin-na ĝe-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš*
*kalam-ma zi-šà-gal mu-da-an-gál-li-eš*
*me-dingir-dingir-ri-e-ne si-im-di-di-e-ne*
*erim-ma kalam-ma-ka ninda mu-ni-ib-lu-lu-un-aš*
*ama-kalam-ma-ka dugud mu-un-ne-gál-aš*
*ama(?)uku-ra saḫar ki-uš-sa-a-ba*
*u-mu-un-mu-ne-eš ĝe-gál mu-da-an-gál-li-eš*
*man-na-ne-ne sag-ki- . -ne-ne ba-an-gub-bu-uš-a*
*dugud-bi e-a ni-tag-me-eš*

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REVERSE

The opening lines, of which there may have been one or two more than the numbering shows, are too fragmentary to permit of any attempts at restoration. Mankind (l. 3) and the gods Enki and "Father" Enlil (ll. 4 and 5), representing the "great gods, the Anunna," are the dramatis personae.

In a favorable month a tablet was . . . . . .
(in) a favorable month—it was a joyous one—the . . . . for . . . . .
Enki and Enlil uttered an incantation . . . .
flocks and grain (the grain-god) in the favorable month they . . . . for . . .
The flocks . . . . . the fold.
Grass of the plain in abundance they gave them,
grain . . . . they put before them,
shepherds (?) and under-shepherds they gave them.
The flocks stood in their fold,
the shepherd brought abundance to the fold.
The grain stood in the ear,
the "green maiden" brought abundance.
In the fields the head was lifted on high,
abundance (of rain) came from heaven,
flocks and grain "blossomed forth."
The gatherings (of people) were blessed with abundance,
the (whole) land was blessed with renewal of life.
The law of their gods they promulgated,
the storehouses of the land they filled with food,
the mercy (favors) shown the land was abundant (heavy).
The prostrate ———, trampled in the dust,
lords they became (?), rich abundance was theirs.
Both of them in ——— stood.

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# PRE-ISRAELITE LAWS IN THE BOOK OF THE COVENANT

By Leroy Waterman
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If Israel was the recipient of any ready-made legislation, and it will probably be granted that this idea lies at the bottom of Israel's most consistent and uniform tradition, the Book of the Covenant will doubtless be allowed precedence as a repository that ought to be searched for such material. By the witness of tradition, by its position in the documentary analysis, and by the stage of social development it reflects, the Covenant Code presupposes the earliest considerable collection of laws in Israel.

Once having laid aside Moses' heavy responsibility for all law in Israel, and with the method of Israel's "conquest" of Canaan fairly well defined as a gradual process of infiltration and amalgamation with older Canaanitish stock, there are legitimate grounds for expecting pre-Israelite laws in Israel even as pre-Semitic law is found in the Amorite code of Babylonia. The Canaanite city communities had at least some of the same needs for laws as the Sumerian city states, and whether we attribute to the former as much legal originality as the older Sumerians possessed or not, the Canaanites were, at any rate, in more or less direct contact with a manifestly superior civilization of the same race that was famous for its legal system. The law code of Babylonia was moreover fairly accessible to the Canaanites, since they used the language of Babylonia for the purposes of international diplomacy at least for a considerable time before Israel entered Canaan. That the Hebrews as a nomadic horde could have learned agriculture of the rural Canaanites and have gotten control of the walled towns, without being able to reduce them by force, and yet have failed to incorporate a considerable body of Canaanitish law, can scarcely be maintained without making the Canaanites, or the Israelites, or both, utterly lawless peoples, a very improbable assumption.

It is, however, now generally conceded that all the feasts of Israel except the Passover were originally a part of the religion of



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Canaan, and the prescriptions regarding their observance make up a group of laws that we have a right, therefore, to regard as basically pre-Israelitish; but having made such a beginning, what should have given Israel immunity from further legal borrowing in both town and country life? Indeed, unless some definite cause of immunity can be discovered, we would seem to be forced to conclude that Canaanitish legal influence must have extended much farther, even though we are no longer in a position to identify it. No such cause of immunity is forthcoming. Archaeology, that might be expected to furnish data on this point, knows no cultural break between Canaanitish and Israelitish civilization.

Whether the Book of the Covenant contains pre-Israelite laws or not, slightly less than half of it consists of materials that can, I believe, be shown to be as late as the Divided Monarchy, in their present grouping. It will be advisable to consider this assignment of laws, in order properly to delimit the subject in hand.

I shall venture to assume, first, that the decalogue arrangement of the Book of the Covenant is a demonstrable fact, in spite of some opinions to the contrary (R. Smend, B. Eerdmans). For the "Judgments" (Exod. 21:1—22:20) it is explicit without any rearrangement. There are five decalogues (cf. Kent's *Laws*). The three passages that will not fit the decalogue principle (21:17, 22–25; 22:2, 3*a*) are patently glosses, epexegetical of the topic of the laws they follow. It is true the first half of the fifth decalogue has to be supplied from Deut. 22:13–27. The virtual identity of Deut. 22:28, 29 with Exod. 22:16 makes this restoration as near a demonstration as could be expected (cf. Paton, *JBL*, XII, 79 ff.). It is worthy of note also that the above-mentioned glosses supply five laws and so make *in number* five decalogues as they stand in Exodus. This would seem to show that there was a consistent tradition that the Judgments consisted of five decalogues, so that the addition of five laws is accompanied by the omission of a pentad of regular laws. The only other law in the group that shows itself inconsistent with the decalogue principle is the last one, on apostasy (Exod. 22:20). This is in the nature of an appendix and is most naturally explained as a displacement of an earlier law. In any case, its incongruity is not sufficient to throw doubt on the decalogue structure. The "Precepts"

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(Exod. 20:23–26; 22:21—23:26), while not strictly laws, can be arranged similarly into four decalogues. There are only three laws lacking, and these can be supplied with reasonable certainty from Deut. 22:2, 3, 6, 7. There is only one duplicate, Exod. 22:21 equals 23:9, and no glosses, but these decalogues cannot be established without rearrangement. This regrouping, however, does not break the inner structure of the decalogues except in the first, where Exod. 23:5 precedes Exod. 23:1, but it is here that three laws have fallen out.

Secondly, the pentad structure of the decalogues is a fundamental mark of the primitive decalogues and points to their oral codification. Its absence in a given case implies either a later external imitation, at a time when, owing to a long period of the written word, the pentad form had been lost sight of, or it may indicate later substitutions and transpositions that have obliterated the pentad structure.

The so-called J decalogue will illustrate. This is probably meant to be a true decalogue, in spite of Kittel's objection (*The Scientific Study of the Bible*, pp. 38, 39) that it contains twelve instead of ten "words." The existence of the prophetic decalogue in Exod. 20 can, on the same basis, be denied by making the number of items eleven instead of ten. The pentad structure in J is not discernible, although this should theoretically be one of the earliest examples. What is more, an early date for the group in its present form is rendered improbable by the presence of its first two commands, (1) "Thou shalt worship no other gods," etc. (Exod. 34:14), and (2) "Thou shalt make thee no molten gods" (Exod. 34:17). The first is logically the expression of the triumph of Elisha over the house of Ahab in 841 B.C. The second is a good century later still, since our first open disapproval of images is voiced by Hosea.

This decalogue is found repeated in substance in E as a part of the Precepts, but it is so broken up that it can only be identified with the help of the J decalogue. It is to be observed, however, that when it is used it breaks up not into ten "words" but twelve. Now since this division is necessary to make up the decalogues of the Precepts, they can hardly have been formulated till after the date of the first two items in the J and E decalogues, i.e., until the time of the E writer. Now by removing these two latest laws of the J decalogue and following the redivision of what remains as suggested in E, it

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becomes possible to restore a decalogue that will have the pentad arrangement. That is, the J decalogue will now consist of a calendar of five feasts and five prescriptions applying to the observance of feasts, viz., first pentad: (1) unleavened bread (Exod. 34:18); (2) seventh day of rest (v. 21); (3) first-fruits (v. 22*a*); (4) harvest (v. 22*b*); (5) passover (v. 25*b*); second pentad: (1) first-fruits (v. 26); (2) first-born of cattle (vv. 19–20*a*); (3) first-born of men (v. 20*b*); (4) restriction concerning sacrificial blood (v. 25); (5) restriction regarding the boiling of a kid (v. 26*b*). The one festival that is not clear, as such, is the seventh rest day, which is here strictly a holiday. This is most naturally accounted for as due to an extension of the religious disapproval seen in Isa. 1:13.

The original J decalogue was thus centered in ritualistic observances, the majority of which took place at a sanctuary. It is such a feast calendar as would naturally grow up at a sanctuary and it is definitely agricultural in character. The J form, on the whole, shows more marks of originality and more concreteness of locality, e.g., v. 26*a*, "The best of thy first-fruits thou shalt bring to the house of Yahweh." This reference occurring in the J document points most naturally to Jerusalem as the source of the group, and as originating there not earlier than the time of Solomon.

If now the Precepts were originally earlier than the first two commands of the J decalogue, and if these two were added later, we should expect this to disrupt the decalogues of the Precepts, or to cause a combining of two items in two instances as in J; but there is no trace of such a process. The date of the group as a whole, therefore, seems to be conditioned by its first two laws.

We may turn now to the Judgments of the Book of the Covenant. These are true laws with definite penalties for infringement, consisting of fines and retaliation. They are occupied with civil and criminal cases and are conspicuous in their present setting by the entire absence of any ritual or religious enactments. They contain nothing that has to do with a religious covenant. Their provisions represent the simplest forms of settled community life and are practically all concerned with agriculture and the social life that goes with it. With very few exceptions they are occupied with the rights of property. By their content they are recognized as containing the most primitive

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laws in the Old Testament. In form they show that they grew out of the legal processes and precedents of case law, and in this respect they are like the laws of the Hammurabi Code, all being cast in the form of the third person singular: *summa awilum*, "if a man do thus and so." Being of such a nature and based on agriculture, the first explicit thing we can say about them is that they are Palestinian in their present form, i.e., either developed or taken on by Israel after its entrance into Canaan.

Our first clue to Moses' connection with the Book of the Covenant, and hence with this group, is to be found in Exod. 24:7. The tradition does not maintain that Moses wrote the book. The most it claims is that he read from it, and that, too, in a form that shows even this relation to be secondary. The idea of the Book of the Covenant, therefore, has been transferred to Moses from some other source either before or after his time. In seeking to recover the true setting of this tradition, it will be useful, first of all, to note the conditions that it calls for. These are the establishing of a religious covenant in a settled agricultural community, which was also made the occasion of accepting a group of laws, ready-made for governing the life of the community. The covenant is purely religious, while the laws are exclusively secular, and yet the latter must be regarded as the laws of the covenant. The difficulty of finding an occasion for the rise of the conception in Palestine if Moses precedes is obvious. That is, the need for a religious covenant is then not clear, and why secular laws and none others should be associated with it is equally difficult to construe. Ritualistic laws are to be expected first, if not to the exclusion of others. If the tradition of the Book of the Covenant be genuine, failure to observe the foregoing conditions can only lead the investigator astray at this point.

If the Book of the Covenant idea precedes Moses, the conditions are easier, although by no means simple. The proposal to shift the Joshua tradition so that it should precede rather than follow Moses, first stated by Eduard Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*), has more recently received such elaboration and support (cf. Luckenbill, *AJTh*, XX, 24 ff.; J. M. Powis Smith, *AJSL*, XXXII, 81 ff.; *AJSL*, XXXV, 1 ff.; T. J. Meek, *AJTh*, XXIV, 209 ff.) that one may say it has clearly passed beyond the stage of

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mere conjecture, if it has not become an accepted hypothesis. Meyer, in making his reconstruction, has naturally emphasized its effect upon Moses' relation to the "Bundesbuch" (*op. cit.*, p. 550 f.), but without applying his position to the laws in detail. His inclination to find the original basis of the "Bundesbuch" in the "curses" of Deut. 27:15–26 is unconvincing. In the first place, there are only eleven curses that have any right to be called genuine. Nine of these are paralleled in Hammurabi, and six in the Covenant Code. Only one instance, viz., verse 18 (misleading the blind) is without parallel (cf. Driver's *Deuteronomy*, *ICC*, p. 299). None of the curses show themselves to be more primitive in form than the corresponding parallels, indeed the one which Meyer particularly emphasizes as distinctive (v. 15, the secret worship of images) is manifestly later than any of its parallels and clearly represents the "bootlegger" stage of the particular form of prohibition.

What will be the effect of applying the priority of Joshua to the basic presuppositions of the Book of the Covenant? Are there any Israelite traditions of this sort known that are associated with settled life in Canaan? It turns out that there are at least four. The passages involved are Gen. 33:18—34:31, Josh. 8:24, and Judges, chapters 8 and 9. The first records the visit of Jacob and his family to the town of Shechem at the foot of Mount Gerizim and their covenant with the sons of Shechem, which involves intermarriage. The tradition thus represents the amalgamation of Israelite and Shechemite clans by a covenant. The section in Judges records the marriage of Gideon with a woman of Shechem, that involves the wider clan groups in a covenant relation, and brings out the fact that the god of Shechem was known as the god of the covenant, with whom the Israelites entered into covenant relations as a matter of course when they covenanted with his worshipers. Josh. 8:30 ff. tells how Joshua set up on Mount Gerizim (Ebal in the traditional text) the high place of Shechem, an altar of unhewn stones, plastered them with plaster, and wrote upon the surface thus prepared the words of certain laws, the laws themselves not being stated; and he further performed a ceremony there which involved the establishment of a religious covenant. In Joshua, chapter 24, Joshua also establishes at Shechem a religious covenant and sets up statutes and

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judgments as a part of the covenant relation, none of the laws being stated.

It will be seen that these seemingly disconnected accounts all deal with a single locality, the town of Shechem, and that they are all occupied with a religious covenant. Two of them involve clan amalgamation and two specifically deal with the acceptance of laws. The points that are not fully clear are the time relations, first as between the traditions themselves, and secondly as to their common relation to the Sinai tradition. It is worth noting, perhaps, that the first is now placed before the Mosaic era, but all are connected with the settlement of Canaan and its dominance by Israel. It is to be observed that the only one of these incidents that openly professes to be definitely post-Mosaic has elements that were evidently not clearly understood by the writer who put them in their present form, since they are incongruous with the situation as now represented. I refer to the blessing and the curse in Joshua, chapter 8, as well as to Moses' prescription in Deuteronomy, chapter 27. Both of these references fail to prescribe how these rites may be carried out so as to conform to the idea. In Deuteronomy, Moses seems to provide to have half of the tribes blessed and the other half cursed. The Deuteronomic redacter of Joshua, chapter 8, tries to correct the impression of Deuteronomy by assuring us that the purpose of the entire ceremony is to bless all of Israel; but when he endeavors to sketch the scene, he finally has half of the people face the place of blessing and the other half the place of cursing, which is scarcely an improvement.

Moses' selection of Mount Gerizim is likewise incongruous with his position on the east side of Jordan. Gerizim is not the most conspicuous mountain of the central range from the hills of Moab, and even if it were, the proclamation of a law from the top of a mountain is not a particularly forceful way of giving it validity in a land. Indeed, if it is very high, it suggests remoteness from the haunts of men where it should be made effective. There is nothing which lends appropriateness to Moses' choice. The only appropriate reason for choosing Gerizim would be that it implied a sanctuary there. This it possessed, indeed, but it belonged to another god in the days of Moses and Joshua. Mount Gerizim never plays any

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subsequent rôle of note in the history of the kingdom of Israel. The present setting of the tradition cannot, therefore, be original and is only an imperfect adaptation of older material. The relation of Moses to it is artificial and forced and accordingly its present chronological relations are to be regarded as unhistorical.

In Joshua, chapter 24, Joshua's summons to Israel to come to Shechem where a covenant is made and laws are also given, is without antecedent or consequent, the laws themselves having been disassociated from the tradition. The result is a seeming duplication of covenants and laws at Shechem. In this particular case it is noteworthy that Joshua acts independently of Moses.

May then the Judgments as the basis of the Book of the Covenant have originally constituted the statutes and ordinances set up independently of Moses at Shechem and attributed to Joshua in Joshua, chapter 24? No writer, as far as I am aware, in dealing with this problem has ventured this solution in exactly this form for one very obvious reason, as stated by Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 553), viz., owing to the entire lack of religious or ritualistic laws of any kind in that group. This objection holds good, however, only on the ground that the Joshua element is primary in the tradition. The traditions themselves render this improbable. Judges, chapter 1, leaves no room for him as an outstanding leader of the tribes and naturally reduces his possible clan leadership to the importance of one of the minor judges. The Gerizim incident is as incongruous for Joshua as it is for Moses. It requires Joshua to lead up the entire people, including the women and children, into the still unconquered hill country of Canaan, in order to set up the altar and write upon it the law and then return to the Jordan valley, leaving the altar and the copy of the law in the hands of the hostile natives. The ostensible purpose of the service was avowedly to commit the people to the keeping of the law in Canaan, its actual result is the forsaking of the law they have covenanted to keep, and its abandonment to the enemy. The incident also overlooks the fact that there was a Canaanitish shrine there before Israel's arrival on the scene (cf. Gen. 12:6; Judg. 9:4, 6).

In Joshua, chapter 24, Joshua sets up a great stone, i.e., a *maççeba;* but according to Gen. 33:20 the clans of Israel set up such a *maççeba*

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(מצבה instead of מזבח) much earlier as a witness, when the clans of Israel and Shechem agreed to intermarry. Joshua also establishes a religious covenant at Shechem, but by putting together Judg. 8:33 with its "Baal-berith," and Gen. 33:20, with its "El-Elohe-Israel," we see the Baal of Shechem recognized as the god of Israel, i.e., we have the establishment of a religious covenant at Shechem between Israelites and Shechemites much earlier. Moreover, Joshua's performance of this covenant is without concrete motive or result. Joshua thus only duplicates in a more or less artificial manner what is already accomplished earlier in a much more concrete setting.

Now when the two peoples agreed together by a solemn religious covenant, that was the appropriate moment, if the Shechemites had any civil and criminal laws, to make these also a part of the covenant, and there and then to declare the blessing and the curse that would follow their observance or disregard. If they had such laws and, particularly, if for the purpose of lending them greater effectiveness for themselves they had already inscribed them upon the sides of the altar of their chief sanctuary, a religious covenant with Israel would scarcely have been possible without including the laws as well. Once this had taken place, such laws would thereafter be properly designated, particularly by the Israelites, as the laws of the covenant, and if they were considerable enough in number, they would establish the idea of a book of the covenant. The Judgments admirably meet the requirements of such a setting. They keep well within the circle of the simple agricultural life centering in a village such as Shechem. A comparison of the grouping and nature of these laws in detail with the Hammurabi Code will have a further bearing upon the probability of such a code arising in Canaan, prior to Israel's entering the land.

There are five decalogues with clearly defined pentads in each. The first decalogue (Exod. 21:2–11) covers the rights of property in persons, or, more specifically, the hostage for debt (cf. Johns, *The Relation between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples*, pp. 41 f.). The first pentad deals with males, the second with females. (1) "If thou buy a Hebrew slave, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing." This law is covered in principle and usage by the Code of Hammurabi, paragraph 117: "If a man be in debt and sell his wife, son or daughter

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. . . . for three years they shall work in the house of their purchaser . . . . in the fourth year they shall be given their freedom." The rest of the first pentad are all special cases under (1) and have no parallels in Hammurabi: (2) If single, he is to go out single; (3) if married, his wife goes out with him; (4) if given a wife by his master, his wife and children remain his master's; (5) voluntary enslavement for life. The second pentad is constituted similarly: (6) "If a man sells his daughter to be a maidservant, she shall not go out as the menservants do." This law is also covered by H. 117. The remaining laws of this pentad are only special cases under (6) and are likewise without Hammurabi parallels: (7) If she please not her master, etc.; (8) if he espouse her to his son, etc.; (9) if he take him another wife, etc.; (10) if he do not these three things unto her, then she shall go out for nothing without money.

The first law in each pentad, taken together, covers the cases of male and female hostages for debt, which is provided for in H. 117. The Hebrew in its first law considers the hostage from the standpoint of the buyer rather then the seller. The Hammurabi Code differs in application from the first Hebrew pentad in the length of the period of service, three years in Babylonia as against six years in Canaan. Yet in this the only essential divergence, it is now conceded that the Hebrews retained a memory of the Babylonian usage (cf. Exod. 21:26 and Deut. 15:12–18). Whatever the hire of a hireling may be, as Johns remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 43), six is the double of three and nothing else; and nowhere in the Semitic field is such a three-year provision found except in Babylonia. The Hammurabi Code differs from the second pentad regarding the release of the female servant. The Hebrew law is a positive modification that, in the presence of the Babylonian counterpart, seems to be conscious of the change. The divergence is to be noted as a direct weakening of the Hammurabi law. In Babylonia the woman stood on the same plane as the man in this respect. In Palestine she at once became subject to concubinage and her person could not be protected in working off a debt. This is a modification in the direction we should expect. There was no strong central government in Canaan and no benevolent ruler to see to it that "the strong did not oppress the weak and that righteousness prevailed." The law is weakened, therefore, by the absence of any

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external authority that could control the human passions. The basic laws of this decalogue do thus differ from the Hammurabi Code; but the points of identity, nevertheless, both of specific provisions, method of procedure, and general scope, outweigh the differences, and the variations are naturally accounted for by the difference in civilization. When we consider that more than a millennium intervened between the promulgation of the Hammurabi Code and the emergence of the Hebrew laws, that the Code itself was published in another dialect, that there is no reason to suppose the Hammurabi Code was ever proclaimed in Syria as the law of the land or formally adopted in Palestine, in a word, that the probable method of transplanting the Code was orally through actual usage in trade and commerce, differences were to be expected even more than appear. The conclusion seems warranted that this first decalogue was built up orally from its two basic provisions, until there were four under each, while the two primary laws find their fountainhead in H. 117, so that the complete decalogue may be regarded as a Canaanite adaptation and application of H. 117. The tenor of the provisions is in accord with the Babylonian code, but varies as influenced by local usage, first as to time, secondly as to the sexual relation of the female.

The second decalogue (Exod. 21:12–27) has as its theme offenses against the person. The first pentad deals with capital offenses, the second with minor offenses. (1) "If a man strike a man so that he die, the manslayer shall be put to death." This law is very loosely drawn, but the case is covered by H. 206–7: "If a man strike another man in a quarrel and wound him, he shall swear: 'I struck him without intent' and he shall be responsible for the physician. (207) If he die as a result of the stroke, he shall swear as above and if he be a man he shall pay one half mana of silver." Hammurabi, with true discrimination, allows for the intent and provides for a penalty even where death was proved accidental. The Hebrew provides for the latter under (2): "If a man lie not in wait," etc., and for the former under (3): "If a man come presumptuously on his neighbor to slay him . . . . he shall die." Thus (2) and (3) are special cases under (1). (4) "He that smiteth his father or mother shall surely be put to death." H. 195 treats the same case, but the penalty differs. It is not regarded as a capital offense: "They shall cut off his fingers."

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The Hebrew law is more savage and summary. The Babylonian code provides for other crimes against parents that might lead to disinheritance, but not without the sanction of the courts (cf. H. 168, 169). (5) Man-stealing and -selling: This is parallelled by H. 14: "If a man steal a man's son who is a minor, he shall be put to death." This covers the most probable case of man-stealing.

The second pentad deals with minor offenses, first between equals, and secondly toward inferiors. (1) 'If two men contend and one is injured but recovers, the other must pay for his time till he recovers.' This is also covered by H. 206, with the difference that "being responsible for the physician" takes the place of payment for loss of time. Physicians were scarce in Palestine. (2) 'An owner who smites his slave, causing immediate death, must be punished,' neither the method nor penalty being stated. This is a minor offense because it involves slaves. The Hammurabi Code does not legislate on this point, but leaves it to the owner's self-interest. The Hebrew, therefore, attempts definitely to go beyond the Hammurabi Code at this point, but the law is little more than a protest, and is the only case where a penalty is not stated. (3) "If the slave survive a day or two there is no penalty, for it is his own loss." There is no parallel in Hammurabi, but it falls back on the Babylonian principle of self-interest. Maiming of a slave by the owner, causing loss of eye or tooth, (4) and (5), is made the basis for the slave's freedom. Thus (3), (4), and (5) are modifications of (2). This decalogue is built up on two principles. It starts with the same Hammurabi basis in both pentads (H. 206–7), allows these cases to determine the categories of capital and minor offenses, and then aligns with these laws others that carry a similar penalty.

The third decalogue (Exod. 21:28—22:5) has as its topic injuries involving domestic animals. The first pentad deals with injuries to persons by such animals. (1) 'If an ox gore a person to death, it is to be stoned and its flesh not eaten, but its owner shall be quit.' The same case is dealt with in H. 250: "If a bull when passing through the street, gore a man and bring about his death this case has no penalty." The owner suffers no personal restraint in either case, but the Hebrew brings about the loss of the ox because it insists on applying the cruder clan custom of blood revenge to a domestic

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animal. (2) 'If the ox were wont to gore and his owner knew it and yet did not keep him in, with the result that he kills a person, the ox shall be stoned and the owner put to death.' This is a special case under (1), but in this instance there is a special case provided for in the Hammurabi Code and covered in almost identical language in H. 251. It varies only in the finer distinction expressed in the clause "If he have not protected his horns," and in the penalty, which consists of one-half mana of silver. Hammurabi shows a finer sense of justice by omitting the senseless stoning of the dumb brute and in distinguishing between negligence and wilful intent to kill. (3) 'If a ransom is fixed for the owner he shall pay as determined.' This law is a modification of H. 251, the difference being that the relatives of the deceased determine whether a fine will be accepted. In Babylonia the government was strong enough to determine that beforehand. That is, the Hebrew law shows a weakening in the direction of private justice, as we should expect in Palestine. (4) 'Whether a boy or girl be gored, the foregoing law applies.' This is another special case under H. 251. It differs from Hammurabi only by the addition of "girl." (5) 'If a male or female servant be gored, a fine of thirty shekels shall be paid the master and the ox stoned.' This comes under (1), but is also treated similarly in H. 252: "If it be the servant of a man he shall pay one third mana of silver."

The second pentad treats of injuries to domestic animals. (6) 'If a man leave an open pit and the ox or ass of another fall therein, the owner of the pit shall restore its money value and keep the carcass.' This case is covered in principle by H. 245: "If a man hire an ox and cause its death by neglect or abuse, he shall restore an ox of equal value to the owner." There seems to have been no such development of the rental of animals in Canaan as in Babylonia, but the Hebrew provision may be regarded as the Canaanite adaptation of this law. (7) 'If one's ox hurt another's, so that it die, they shall sell the live ox and divide the money and the carcass.' The same principle of responsibility applies in this case, the nature of the case naturally reducing it in extent. (8) 'If one knew his ox were wont to gore and kept him not in, he must pay ox for ox and may keep the carcass.' This law falls back directly upon H. 245 and differs only in the disposal of the dead animal. (9) 'Sheep- or ox-stealing and killing

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or selling the same requires a restoration of four- or five-fold, or the thief may be sold to pay the fine.' This is covered by H. 8: "If a man steal ox or sheep, ass or pig or goat, if it be from a god or a palace, he shall restore thirty fold; if it be from a freeman, he shall render ten fold. If the thief have nothing wherewith to pay he shall be put to death." (10) 'If the stolen property be found in his hand alive, he shall pay twice its value.' This is a special case under (9) and has no Hammurabi parallel. To summarize, in this decalogue the first pentad is built up by special cases under its first member and rests upon H. 250–52, which in turn stand in a like relation to each other. The second pentad is suggested by contrast with the first and groups around H. 245 and H. 8 as normative principles.

Responsibility for property loss covers the fourth decalogue (Exod. 22:5–15). The first pentad is occupied with crop damage and loss of property on deposit. (1) 'If a man pasture his beast in the field or vineyard of another, of the best of his own shall he make restitution.' This corresponds to H. 57: "If a shepherd have not come to an agreement with the owner of a field to pasture his sheep on the grass and if he pasture his sheep on the field without the owner's consent, the owner of the field shall harvest his field and the shepherd shall give twenty gur of grain per ten gan to the owner." (2) 'If fire damage a grain field, he that kindled the fire shall make restitution.' The same principle is covered by H. 53: "If a man neglect to strengthen his dyke . . . . and a break be made in his dyke and water carry away the farm land, the man in whose dyke the break has been made shall restore the grain he has damaged." Both laws provide restitution in kind for crops or fields damaged by negligence. In Palestine the chief danger was from fire, in Babylonia it was from flood. (3) 'If a man deposit money or stuff with another, and it be stolen out of the man's house, if the thief be found he shall pay double.' This corresponds to H. 125: "If a man give anything on deposit and at the place of deposit either by burglary or pillage he suffer loss in common with the owner of the house, the owner of the house who has been negligent and has lost what has been given him on deposit, shall make good (the loss) and restore it to the owner of the goods. The owner shall institute a search for what has been lost and take it from the thief." (4) 'If the thief be not found, then the

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depositee shall clear himself of theft by an oath before God.' This is a special case under (3). (5) 'In case of alleged breach of trust regarding property on deposit, both parties shall come before God; whom God condemns shall pay double.' This law completes the conditions under (4) and so is a special case under it.

This pentad shows how the Hammurabi Code is followed. Nos. (1) and (2) correspond to the last and first, respectively, of a pentad in Hammurabi (53–57); (3) depends on the fifth law of another Hammurabi pentad, none of the other laws of that pentad being utilized.

The second pentad treats of responsibility for loss of live stock under a keeper. (6) 'In case of loss or injury to live stock held for keeping, an oath before the deity shall determine whether the keeper is guilty.' This is covered by H. 266: "If a visitation of God happen to a fold or a lion kill, the shepherd shall declare himself innocent before God and the owner shall suffer the damage." (7) 'If stolen from the keeper, he must make restitution.' This is a special case under (6) and has no parallel in H. (8) 'If torn by wild beasts, he should bring the evidence and go free.' This is another special case under (6), but it is also covered by H. 266, "If a lion kill." (9) 'If a man borrow an animal and it be hurt or die, the owner not being with it, he shall surely make restitution.' This comes under H. 245 (see above). (10) 'If the owner be with it, he shall not make it good.' This is a special case under (9) and has no parallel. This decalogue as a whole grows directly out of its first member, i.e., responsibility for the property rights of another.

The fifth decalogue is concerned with social purity. The first pentad (Deut. 22:13–19) treats of adultery in wedlock. (1) 'If a man who marries a virgin claims she was not a virgin and cannot prove it, he shall pay her father one hundred shekels and can never divorce her.' There is no Hammurabi parallel. (2) 'If proved true, she shall be stoned.' This is a special case under (1) and lacks any Hammurabi parallel. (3) 'Adultery between a man and a married woman. Both shall die.' This is covered by H. 129: "If the wife of a man be taken in lying with another man, they shall bind them and throw them into the water. If the husband would save his wife, or if the king would save his servant (he may)." The

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difference in the two enactments is accounted for by the deeper humanitarian spirit in Hammurabi, due to a firm but wise and benevolent ruler. (4) 'Adultery of a betrothed virgin in a city. Both are to be stoned.' This law is covered by H. 130 of which it forms a special case: "If a man force the (betrothed) wife of another, who has not known a male and is living in her father's house, and he lie in her bosom and they take him, that man shall be put to death and that woman shall go free." The finer sense of justice in Hammurabi accounts for the differences here. (5) This law is No. 4 applied in rural life. Only the man suffers. This comes more directly under H. 130.

The second pentad (Exod. 22:16–20) deals with adultery out of wedlock and unnatural relations. (6) 'Adultery with a young girl. The man must marry her.' There is no parallel. (7) 'If her father refuse to give her, the man must still pay the dowry.' This is a special case under (6) and has no parallel. (8) "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live." This is the only case in the Judgments of the second person, and is either secondary in form or represents a displacement. H. 2 provides the same penalty for sorcery. If genuine, it comes here as a repugnant, unsocial practice. (9) 'Intercourse with a beast brings the death penalty.' It is without parallel. (10) "He that sacrifices to any god but Yahweh only, shall be utterly destroyed." This law is late and probably displaces an earlier one. This decalogue, in its original form, may well have been entirely occupied with the charge of adultery, first in wedlock, and secondly out of wedlock. The first pentad shows signs of disarrangement. The order (3), (4), (5), (1), (2) would be clearer, and in that case the first pentad would naturally arise out of H. 129–30, and the second by contrast with the first. As it stands, the second pentad has three laws that apply to adultery out of wedlock, viz. (1), (2), (4). Hammurabi also has a pentad of laws on this topic (H. 154–58), none of which is utilized, but which may have readily furnished the two remaining laws.

To recapitulate, on the whole the same general order of development of the decalogues is observable. One or more laws in each pentad has a direct parallel in Hammurabi or applies the same principle, and from this basis a complete pentad is developed, either as

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special cases under the first, or by grouping around it others having the same topic or carrying the same penalty. In two cases the same Babylonian basis furnished the foundation for both related pentads. Whenever the Hebrew develops special cases from a law that has a Babylonian parallel, these have no parallels in Hammurabi unless the latter develops special cases under that particular parallel. Wherever the Hebrew laws are not subordinate cases, Hammurabi parallels appear, except in the last pentad of the Judgments. The evidence points to the direct dependence of the pentads both in their form and genesis, but it is not a dependence on the formal Code of Hammurabi, but upon an oral sublimate of that Code that had become naturalized in Palestine through the usual channels of intercourse. There is hardly a case of complete verbal agreement and seldom do two consecutive laws in Hammurabi appear in the same relation in the Hebrew. But there is scarcely a basic Hebrew law that has a Babylonian parallel whose variations are not naturally accounted for by the differing conditions in Palestine.

The evidence thus favors the oral development of the decalogues in Canaan. To be sure, this might have been done, per se, by the Israelites themselves, but even in that case the basic laws from which the pentads spring are pre-Israelite, since they are shown to be Babylonian in origin. But granted a form of the Hammurabi Code transplanted in Canaan, and allowing the Canaanites at least several centuries of knowledge of these laws before Israel came upon the scene, it is very difficult to assume that the Canaanites lived a settled life for centuries in Canaan with such a legal inheritance and yet did not succeed in developing so simple a code as the Judgments in the Book of the Covenant, only to have the Hebrews do it much more quickly by taking over the inherited laws of the Canaanites.

The presumption in favor of the Canaanites is strongly enforced, not only because such a code as the Judgments admirably fits the basic conditions of the Book of the Covenant, but it applies with equal appropriateness to the agricultural setting and environment of the village of Shechem. Johns (*op. cit.*, pp. 28 f.) has forcefully called attention to the fact that even the entire Book of the Covenant can hardly be supposed to contain all the laws in use in Canaan down to the times of the United Kingdom of Israel; but the Judgments as a

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code formulated at the sanctuary of Shechem are quite sufficient to meet the requirements of such a community at the time of its covenant with Israel. Other codes may have sprung up similarly at other centers, but as codes none of them have survived.

These laws, then, do satisfy the conditions of the original tradition of Joshua, chapter 24. We are now also in a position to explain the incongruities in the Joshua tradition and his rôle there. Granted that these laws were a Shechemite contribution to the covenant relation with the early Israelite clans, as it stands the present narrative is written entirely from the standpoint of Israel's complete dominance of Canaan. The JE tradition repudiates the idea of a covenant between Israel and the despised Canaanites and their gods. If there had been handed down a tradition of religious covenant, to them it could only mean a covenant with Yahweh. If laws were said to have been received at the same time, it could only be from their national God. Now clans can covenant together quite naturally and adopt common laws without any outstanding leader, as we see in Genesis, chapters 33–34; but for a people to covenant with a god and receive laws from him does demand a leader of heroic proportions. The people require to be led and controlled as a whole and the leader then becomes the sole mediator between them and God. Such a rôle Hoshea (Joshua), a local chieftain of the North whose grave was pointed out at Timnath-serah, was called upon to fill, but he fills it very inadequately. The covenant between Israel and Shechem with its laws and its blessing and curse were natural enough, but when the contracting parties were changed to Israel and their God, neither the covenant nor the laws nor the blessing nor the curse are natural, nor can they be made so and keep the basic tradition. Civil and criminal laws were appropriate and sufficient enough as the laws of such a covenant between clans, but when the laws were transferred to God as the source, then they had to be mediated by the hero-leader and hence come as whole cloth from Joshua's loom. Then it becomes incongruous indeed to have only civil and criminal laws represented. As the religious sense in Israel became stronger, somebody must have felt this anomaly and decided that these laws did not befit such a covenant. They were therefore severed from the Joshua tradition. When, however, Joshua was subordinated to Moses, because of the

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superior religious significance of the latter, it was natural to transfer to Moses whatever of importance had been formerly attributed to Joshua. Nevertheless, it was as difficult to ascribe the Judgments alone to Moses as to Joshua. When the Precepts had been evolved so that the Judgments could be incorporated in them, this difficulty was overcome. Moses could now appropriately "read" from the Book of the Covenant.

Israel, accordingly, did receive laws ready-made for the governing of their life in Canaan. I venture to think that they were pre-Israelitish, but that would be very far from saying that they did not come from Yahweh, or that they were not written by the finger of God.

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# THE STORY OF AN EGYPTIAN POLITICIAN

By T. G. Allen
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Among Egyptian objects offered for sale to the Oriental Institute expedition of the University of Chicago during 1919–20 was the stela which is described herewith. It has been available only in a squeeze, from which the hand copy and the photograph here shown were taken.[1] The squeeze shows a rectangular slab 39 cm. high by 58 cm. wide to the outer edges of its frame. The photograph was made from the back of the squeeze to bring the design into relief. But the original stone was carved *en creux*. The beginning of its inscription ran horizontally from right to left; the remainder stood in columns, beginning at the right. Of these, lines 2–10 extend to the bottom edge and are ruled apart on the stone. The columns beyond (ll. 11–15), short and without separation, seem to serve also as labels for the man and woman standing at the left. After first discussing the inscription, the decoration, style, and content of the tablet together may be interpreted historically.

We are first introduced to an autobiography:

The sole companion, the general, the chief of interpreters, *Dmy*, says:

"I was general in this city. I did what the great liked and the humble praised. As for any general who went down, I ⌜got on famously with⌝[2] him because of the goodness of my saying(s) and the excellence of my counsel.

"I went down ⌜against⌝ Abydos, taking along ⌜Mahesa.⌝ I caused that he go down to his house (i.e., temple) in the midst of the city. The people ⌜prevailed⌝ not who went down against him.

"I taxed the people of Wawat for any overlord who arose in ⌜this⌝ nome, and spoiled the people of *Gwt* at <his> command. I was praised therefor.

"I furnished my father's house, and filled it with luxuries. I made a boat of fifty (cubits). I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

"I went forth; I went down into my tomb."

[1] The hand copy gives many unusual forms in facsimile. For the photograph the two halves of the squeeze were not exactly adjusted; hence the duplication of the division between ll. 9 and 10 and of the hieroglyph above it in l. 1. The signs above the man and woman are blurred on the squeeze itself.

[2] Symbols used are as follows: ⌜ ⌝ uncertain; < > scribal omission; [ ] lost but restored; ( ) explanatory additions by editor. Transliterations are italicized. Initial "reed-leaf" of the Egyptian is represented by ʾ, medial and final by *y*.

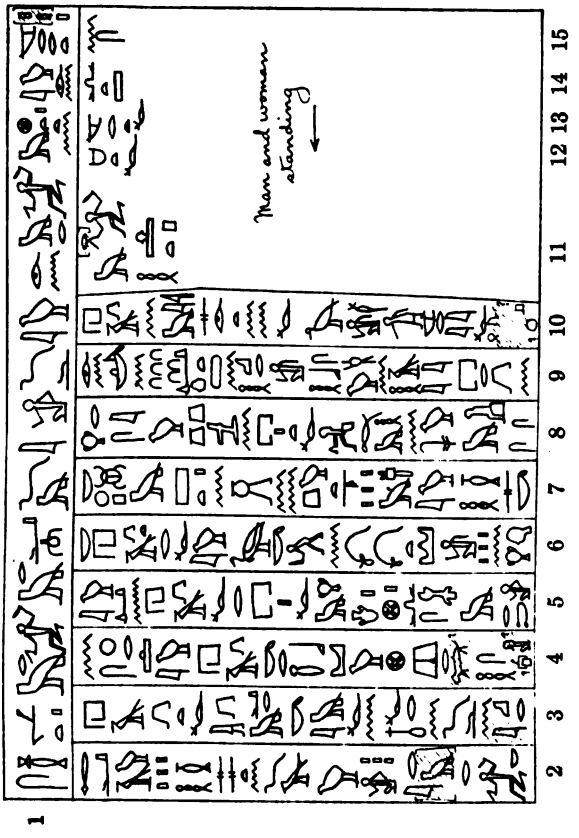


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STELA OF *DMY*
Photographed from a squeeze

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STELA OF *DMY*
Hand copy

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After this autobiography, ending with its ostensible author's account of his own death, comes the concluding statement that the tablet was "made for him by his first-born son, his beloved, ⌜———⌝, the general, Hotep, and his wife, his beloved, N-teshnes."

The distinct sections of the inscription may now be taken up in detail.

## I. INTRODUCTION

*Titles and name.*—The sign *mš*ᶜ in our hero's title of "general," here and throughout the document, differs decidedly from its usual form, for instead of bow and quiver the kneeling figure holds in his hands a whip and knife or dagger. The last title, "chief of interpreters," is appropriate to one connected with the administration of Nubia.[1] The name *Ḏmy* is apparently unique. The *m* is poorly made; but it can scarcely be an *ꜣ*-bird, for such few names as begin with *Ḏꜣ* seem all to use the consonant-group sign 𓂝. "He says" is rendered by the pseudo-participle *ḏd*, as in the Sixth Dynasty tombs of Shedu (Petrie, *Deshasheh*, Pl. XXV, republished in *Urk.*, I, 90) and Khui (*Urk.*, I, 140) and on the stela of Ehi (Cairo 1,596, published in *Urk.*, I, 150).

## II. AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1. *Military career.*—"I was general" is expressed in the usual Egyptian idiom, literally: "I made (i.e., filled the office of) general." *Ḏmy's* boast: "I did what the great liked and the humble praised," is a common one, found, e.g., in the Middle Kingdom on Cairo stela 20,504 and in the preceding period on Cairo 1,759 (partially published in *Urk.*, I, 151; cf. Berlin *zettel*). "I did what men liked and the gods praised" occurs instead in a tomb of the same interim period at Siut (Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh*, Pl. XIV, l. 62). In writing *nḏś·w* our scribe has omitted the *ś*, and the evil bird that serves as determinative is strangely made with a split tail! The beginning of the next phrase is partially blank on the squeeze, but the reading *ꜥr ꜥmy rꜣ-mš*ᶜ *nb*, due to one of Professor

[1] F. W. Read in *Bull. de l'inst. franç. d'archéol. orientale*, XIII (1917), 141–44, supplementing the conclusions of Gardiner and Peet in *PSBA*, XXXVII (1915), shows that the title 𓂋𓏏 is applied to Thoth in *Book of the Dead*, chap. 125, and may therefore originally have meant "scholar."

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Breasted's kind suggestions, seems certain. The verbal adjective *h3y·ty·fy* which follows implies the frequency of such a "going down." "I ⌜got on famously with⌝ him" is only a tentative translation. The verb  is certainly in the first person, since it is followed by the pseudo-participle *mꜥr·k(wy)*, in which the *k* is made exactly as in lines 4, 6, and 7. Use of the preposition *m* instead of *ḥnꜥ* or *mꜥ* prevents rendering "I returned prosperously with him" or "from him" respectively. So some idiomatic use such as we have assumed is indicated. The self-laudatory "because of the goodness of my sayings and the excellence of my counsel" is on a par with such Old Kingdom phrases as "I was one who said and repeated good things" (*Urk.*, I, 78), "I was one who said the good and repeated the good" (*ibid.*, 90 and 150), and "I was one who said the good and repeated what was liked" (*ibid.*, 122 and 132). The last square of line 3 is not completely clear on the squeeze. One might read , "splendor"; but *ꜣḳr*, "excellence," is preferable not only because the *ḳ* and *r* of *ḥḳr* in line 9 show the same form and arrangement, but also on account of such parallels as "I was one excellent in counsel, profitable to his city" (Griffith, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI, l. 4).

2. *Religious zeal.*—"I went down ⌜against⌝ Abydos" implies for our document a source farther up the Nile, since the verb *h3y* clearly connotes "go downstream" in such cases as Harkhuf's return from Yam (*Urk.*, I, 128[8] and 129[12]). As the original became known to Professor Breasted through a Luxor dealer, it was possibly found at Thebes itself. The preposition *r* may be either "to" or "against." If the latter be adopted, the next sentences may mean that *Dmy* made an expedition against Abydos, bearing with him an image of his god whom he installed in the Abydos temple after defeating the god's enemies and capturing the city. In a similar spirit the Hebrews carried with them into battle the Ark of the Covenant. Another instance of *ḥr* used of carrying a divine image is found in Thutmose III's annals (*Urk.*, IV, 652). The lion-deity Mahesa,[1] however, whose name we have thought to read here, seems known otherwise only in the Saite period and later, and has then no special connection with Abydos or the South such as this mention would

[1] A clear *ḥ* and *ś* are preceded in this word by a questionable lion, which might, as far as appearance goes, be equally well *mḥ*, *śd*, *ḏ*, or *nś*. To read *nḥśy*, "negro," seems impossible.

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imply. Discomfiture of the enemy is indicated by the statement that "the people ⌜prevailed⌝ not who had gone down against him." But this too offers an uncertainty; for the sign here read *śḫm*, "prevailed," following a suggestion by Professor Breasted, is very peculiarly made. Yet an *ś* and an *m* are clear, which are assumed to be phonetic complements; and there would even be room before the *m* for a *ḫ* (invisible on the squeeze) which is usually present when the *ś* is written. The functioning of *Dmy*'s piety remains, then, somewhat obscure.

3. *Foreign contacts.*—"I taxed the people of Wawat for any overlord who arose in ⌜this⌝ nome" gives a naïve picture of the uncertainties of public life, except for such chameleons as our hero, who thus boasts his ability to suit all comers. As to "⌜this⌝ nome," the text actually reads "our nome." The latter might, if hailing from more settled times, be accepted and compared with the touches of patriotism in Thutmose III's officers' reference to "our vanguard" (*Urk.*, IV, 650[5]) or the mentions of "our army" by Ahmose, son of Ebana (*Urk.*, IV, 7 and 9; pointed out by Breasted in *BAR*, II, 39 and 81), or the use of the same term already in the Middle Kingdom in the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* (l. 8). But in our case it is probably safer to assume either that in  a second  has been omitted by haplography or that, as in the tomb of Henku (*Urk.*, I, 77),  without the stroke was intended. While it is rather surprising to find Wawat, south of the First Cataract,[1] administered by lords of Thebes or vicinity in so unsettled a period, it is much more strange to find mentioned alongside it the raiding of *Gwt*, which is perhaps to be identified with Canopus in the far western Delta.[2] "At <his> command" assumes scribal omission of an *f* referring back to the overlord. Here again, the conclusion "I was praised therefor" is thoroughly Egyptian in attitude.

4. *Home life.*—"I furnished my father's house and filled it with luxuries" reflects unmistakably the personal benefits derived from our general's services to his ever-changing prince. "I made a boat of

[1] Cf. *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, ll. 8–10.

[2] Brugsch in his *Dict. géogr.*, p. 820, identifies the *Gwtwt* mentioned in the great Papyrus Harris (transl. in *BAR*, IV, 405) and in the *Book of the Dead*, where its writing sometimes includes the nome standard found on our stela, with  of the Decree of Canopus, which the Greek version renders as the name of Canopus itself (*Urk.*, II, 127).

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fifty" is an extraordinarily compressed form of statement, paralleled possibly by a damaged Cairo stela, No. 20,504. A practically contemporary stela published by Moret (*Comptes rendus de l'académie*, 1915, p. 369) duly inserts the word "cubits"; but Uni's autobiography (*Urk.*, I, 108) and the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor* (ll. 25–27 and 91–92) show that the Egyptian more normally stated both length and beam of his boats. In the instances just cited, the boat is a *dp·t* or a *wšḥ·t;* but our text writes only the word-sign, and the following *n* instead of *n·t* calls for a masculine noun, perhaps *wyꜣ*. "I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked" is a frequent statement in the tombs of early Egyptian worthies (e.g., *Urk.*, I, 133 and 143–44). Harkhuf (*ibid.*, 122) adds: "I ferried him who had no ferry-boat"; while Kheti I, a nomarch of Siut, continues: "I hearkened to the plea of the widow" (Griffith, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV, ll. 62–64). Henku (*Urk.*, I, 77) varies his boast to "I gave bread *and beer* to every hungry man of the Cerastes Mountain nome; I clothed the naked therein."

5. *Death and burial.*—"I went forth *from my house;* I went down into my tomb," is the slightly more elaborate formula used by a contemporary named Ehi (*Urk.*, I, 150).

### III. DEDICATION BY SURVIVORS

This is sometimes introduced as here by a relative form (so in *Urk.*, I, 34), but more commonly by *ꜣḫ.* In writing "his first-born son," the *f*, "his," is not horizontal as usual, but seems to stand upright instead behind the determinative. The "first-born" word-sign following lacks its staff. The bottom of line 10 in the squeeze reveals only the projecting tips of uncertain signs which do not fit any usual title. The common epithet *ś·ᶜnḫ rn·f*,[1] "keeping his name alive," is likewise ruled out by the traces. The writing of Hotep's title of "general" is confused in appearance on the squeeze, but its meaning is unmistakable. Initial *ḥ* in the name "Hotep" is rarely written out separately as here.[2]

[1] As on Cairo Middle Kingdom stelae 20,478, 20,557, and 20,751; cf. 20,417.

[2] Lieblein, *Dict. des noms hiérogl.*, gives five instances, four of which (his Nos. 390, 1,475, 1,747, and *a* 217) are women's names. The other (No. 1,737) is found on Cairo stela 20,751, whose owner, *Nḫty*, had two sons: Hotep and Nakht. To the latter, who had a daughter Hotep, belonged Cairo stela 20,515 (Lieblein's No. 1,475 cited above) and perhaps (as Lange and Schäfer claim) 20,526. No. 20,515 is dated in year 10 of Sesostris I. Cairo 20,506 belonged to another male Hotep with *ḥ* written.

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Judging from the position of the names, the man and woman represented on our stela are the dedicator Hotep and his wife N-teshnes. The squeeze gives them a false appearance of emaciation; their cheeks, which there look sunken, were rounded on the stone. Hotep holds in his right hand his baton[1] and in his left his staff. The latter, with a continuation above, does double duty; for it marks also the division between the reliefs and the main part of the inscription. The costumes are typical of the Old and Middle Kingdoms: a sharply pointed kilt for the man; a long, close-fitting dress for the woman. N-teshnes is exceptionally affectionate, for her hands meet in a complete embrace about her husband's waist.

Summarizing the outstanding indications, it appears that the stela came from south of Abydos, perhaps from Thebes where it turned up, and that its style and content together are appropriate only to the disturbed interval between the Old and Middle Kingdoms. While its numerous statements for which parallels were cited have been of value for dating and to indicate the accepted standards of its age, the *unparalleled* remarks are of course of chief historical importance. Those references to *Dmy*'s co-operation with "any general who went down" and to his collecting taxes for "any overlord who arose" in his district bring out most effectively the condition of unstable political equilibrium. Our reading of Mahesa's name, if accepted, adds agreeably to our slight knowledge of this deity. And finally, identification of *Gwt* with Canopus would indicate a much wider radius of attack than has heretofore been assumed for the early southern feudatories. The few Siut inscriptions of the period deal with attacks on southern enemies; our new text shows the South struggling northward. To our pleasure and profit, then, this new document joins the limited circle of its contemporaries.

[1] The baton is probably of the type shown in Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, Pl. XC, No. 543. The angular extension at its end would then be accidental, like the mark in the field below tip of kilt.

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# Critical Notes

## A NEW INTERPRETATION OF JOB[1]

A new translation and an introduction—this, as the full title indicates, and not a new commentary on the Book of Job, constitutes Professor Jastrow's new volume. The translation, it is true, is accompanied by a marginal analysis and by footnotes; but though the latter occasionally contain explanatory matters they are mostly concerned with indications of the text followed, with alternative emendations, and with detailed notes on the structure of the book, the general principles of which have been discussed in the Introduction.

The book, as the Foreword distinctly states and as the decorated cover suggests, is intended primarily for the general reader; and it may be said at once that the author has in the Introduction with great skill so presented a highly complicated and very detailed theory of the origin of the book that unprofessional readers of the book may read it with pleasure and profit. But though intended for the general reader, and though in his interest much that in a full commentary would have been expressed is omitted, underlying the Introduction and translation, barely indicated or not indicated at all, are conclusions reached on innumerable points during the many years which the author has devoted to the Book of Job. In this periodical it will be in place to examine some of these conclusions rather than to dwell more fully on the more general aspects of the work. Yet there is one disadvantage in so doing: it will give undue prominence to the points in which I disagree. Let me then say at the outset that though I frequently disagree with Professor Jastrow on details and occasionally on larger matters, this does not in any way diminish my appreciation of his very suggestive work, my regret that it was not before me before my own Commentary had been completed and passed out of my hands, or the warmth with which I commend the new work to the attention and careful study of the student.

Professor Jastrow observes that a modern book is completed before it begins its life, but that an ancient book is dead as soon as the last word has been added to it; additions were always being made to an ancient book so long as it excited any interest, and only ceased to be made when interest vanished, i.e., when the book had died. This is a striking way of saying what is true of much ancient literature, and what may be, indeed is in a measure, true of Job. Yet it is an overstatement to say that "in the ancient

[1] Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Book of Job. Its Origin, Growth, and Interpretation, Together with a New Translation Based on a Revised Text.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1920. 369 pages. $4.00.



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Orient the final form of a composition represents a dead book" (p. 65), for the Pentateuch was a living and potential force in its final form, and some part or parts of the existing book, in other words, some product of oriental literary activity, must first exist and so far be complete before there is anything to which additions, testifying to its living interest, can be made; and indeed such an earlier complete book of Job, Professor Jastrow finds in chapters 1–27 and a third speech of Job now lost (p. 297), and 42:7–9. But I refer to this part of the Introduction less to criticize it than to express my fundamental agreement with it—an agreement which is likely to be shared by most students who come to the study of it. The existing book was preceded by an earlier book or earlier books of Job which were enlarged and modified. But what was the nature of the earlier books? What in detail the processes of addition and modification to which they were subject? As to these questions there is room for, and there will certainly be, differences of opinion.

Briefly described, Professor Jastrow's theory is that the Book of Job is the result of the contributions of an indefinite number of the members of two different circles—a skeptical circle and an orthodox circle. The skeptical circle found in circulation an old story of Job expressing a naïve faith in God, and used it for their own skeptical ends as "a peg on which to hang the discussion of the problem involved in Job's sufferings" (p. 27); their discussion gradually took literary form in the colloquies of the present book (chaps. 3–27) to which the prologue was prefixed (1,2), and a brief epilogue (42:7*b*–9) was added. In this form the book scandalized the orthodox, who at various times took various ways to make it less scandalous or to secure that their own point of view should be put with equal effectiveness. Thus (1) they made Job at the end of the colloquies go back on what he had said and say what the three friends had orthodoxly said, by the simple device of attributing to Job what the original book had placed in the mouths of Bildad and Ṣophar (chaps. 26 and 27); (2) they added first various poems by various authors that make up the speeches of Elihu, and *subsequently* (p. 144) the various poems that make up the speeches of Yahweh; (3) they transformed crucial passages (e.g., 13:15, 16; 19:25–27) so that they came to express the opposite to what they had originally expressed. Now as to these suggestions it is possible here only to say briefly, (1) that there are very strong reasons for ascribing parts of chapters 26 and 27 to Ṣophar and Bildad, but it is by no means certain that the present state of the text is due to deliberate modification rather than to accidental mutilations; (2) that the speeches of Elihu are certainly additions, but that even if the speeches of Yahweh are also such the assumption that they were added to the book *after* the speeches of Elihu is exposed to some of the objections that tell strongly against the originality of the speeches of Elihu; in particular 38:2 and 3 imply that it is Job that has just ceased speaking, and leave no room for Elihu: in other words, speeches of Elihu

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came into the book *after*, and not before, 38:2,3; (3) that there are passages that have been modified so as to blunt the boldness of the original text is probable, not to say certain, but in this matter all turns on the nature of the evidence for assuming such modification in the particular instances.

To bring out the extreme complexity of Professor Jastrow's theory of the growth of the book, it should be added that he considers that the third cycle of speeches (chaps. 22–27) is a later addition to the first two, and perhaps the second cycle an earlier addition to the first; that chapters 29–31 are due (except in so far as they contain misplaced fragments from Ṣophar's third speech and Job's reply to Bildad's third speech) to someone who felt moved to write speeches for Job of a different character from those that precede—not, however, from any orthodox standpoint, but merely for the interest of the thing; that the prose introduction to the speeches of Elihu, consisting of five verses, is the work of as many different hands; and that several hands are represented in the epilogues.

Much of this analysis turns on the assumed incompatibility of purpose and belief in different parts of the book. In this respect the symposium (chaps. 3–27), it is alleged, differs from the old story retold in the prologue: the speeches of Elihu and the speeches of Yahweh and of Job's reply to these, from the symposium. Now of course the feature of the book most obvious from any point of view is that it presents opposed points of view which, if we will, we may with Professor Jastrow call the orthodox and the skeptical; but the expression of these opposed points of view cannot in itself be any indication of multiple authorship, for it belongs to the very nature of the symposium: Job is skeptical, the friends are orthodox. If we are to infer diversity of authorship, it must be because in different parts of the book there is an implied radical difference of attitude on the part of different *authors* toward the two points of view expressed. In the symposium the sympathy of the author is with Job and against the friends: in the speeches of Elihu it may be said to be with Elihu and against Job: is the same to be said of the speeches of Yahweh? To answer this it becomes necessary to define the nature and extent of the skepticism and corresponding orthodoxy involved; the skepticism of the book is not general, affecting the whole range of thought and conduct, but special: it is pre-eminently skepticism with regard to the prevalent belief that all suffering is recompense for sin. At times this is clearly seen and put by Professor Jastrow: e.g., on page 314, note 66, "The original purpose of the Book of Job was to show the untenability of the conventional view that only the wicked suffer in this world, and that the good enjoy the blessings of God as long as they live." On page 52, this fundamentally negative character of Job is stated in more questionable terms, when it is said that "the main theme of the symposium" is "that sufferings in this world are not *always* due to just causes, that the divine power which controls the destinies of nature and of mankind does not work under the inflexible law of ethical standards." And on page 33, instead

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of the negative, a wide positive purpose is attributed to the book, or more precisely the skeptical circle out of which it sprang; it is "a general discussion of the reason for suffering and evil in the world": and a still more general skepticism is implicitly attributed to the book on page 168: here we are told that the speeches of Yahweh contain the "final answer of orthodox circles to Job's questionings. Man should desist from the effort of trying to understand God's mysterious ways." The implication here is that Job's had been a general skepticism extending to all God's mysterious ways; but it had not been this; fundamentally Job's skepticism was with regard not to God at all, but to a particular dogma about God, and only secondarily and on the assumption that that dogma is true, does it extend more generally to the actual ways of God. It may be argued, I think, that where and as it stands, the speech of Yehweh *tacitly* justifies this particular skepticism of Job. In any case neither in what Yahweh says nor in what Job says in reply, is there anything that represents dissent from what Job had maintained throughout the symposium, namely, that his sufferings are not due to sin, and that, therefore, the theory maintained by the friends is false. This speech (or speeches) of Yahweh presents some at least superficial difficulties on any view of the book, but as the "final answer of orthodox circles" decidedly greater difficulties than on some others. Nor does it seem to me in any degree probable that the words of Yahweh consist of a number of independent nature poems which had originally no connection with the book. It is possible, as Professor Jastrow suggests, that if the book had reached us without this speech of Yahweh and that speech had been discovered elsewhere, no one would have thought of fitting it into Job; on the other hand, (1) the book without some such speech is incomplete—I have argued the point elsewhere and cannot do it again here—and (2) if the speech of Yahweh had reached us independently, it would have been immediately suggested and agreed that it was a part of some larger work. The challenging questions which so largely compose it are most effective where they stand, but would not be natural in a completely detached poem.

I can but refer in a word or two to Professor Jastrow's treatment of the prologue. Rightly, in my judgment, he refuses to postulate a *Volksbuch* of Job, allowing that such *may* have existed, though the assumption of a *Volksage* is sufficient. Rightly, again, he declines to eliminate the scenes in heaven from the prologue, and very admirably argues that in them in particular a touch of skepticism appears which links the prologue closely with the symposium. On the other hand, the attribution of "callousness" to Yahweh seems to rest on an imperfect appreciation of the limitations imposed by the subject and method of the book; and in representing, as some have done before him, the sufferings of Job as "due to a wager" he is merely importing into the prologue what is not there.

On the important question of the early Greek version, Professor Jastrow seems to speak in the Introduction and translation with two voices. In the

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Introduction he quite clearly indicates his adhesion to the theory maintained by Hatch and Bickell, that the omissions of the Greek are proof of the existence of an originally shorter Book of Job; but, while much that is present in the Greek version is omitted from the translation, as "superfluous lines, briefer comments and glosses" (p. 107), the omissions of the Greek are for the most part retained—sometimes in square brackets, sometimes without, sometimes noted in the annotations, sometimes not. For example, 18:15*b*, 16; 27:21–23; 37:1–5*a*, are instances of passages omitted in the Greek but retained in the translation without any indication that, according to the theory adopted in the Introduction, they are additions to the original text. The omission of 22:13–16 is registered in the note, but the verses are retained in the translation, and only the last is inclosed in square brackets. Again, 14:18 and 19 are retained in brackets in the translation; the omission of verse 19 is registered, but not that of verse 18. Of 28:27, retained unbracketed in the translation, but said in the note to be absent from the original Greek version, only the first line is actually absent; but 28:26*b*, which is absent from the Greek, is retained in the translation and not referred to in the notes. In a work primarily intended for the general reader, it would be unreasonable to ask for a prolonged discussion of the Greek version; but if the omissions are noted to the extent to which they are, they might better have been fully noticed. On the whole, however, the general reader may be congratulated that Professor Jastrow's practice is in the translation to retain what his theory in the Introduction should lead him to reject.

There is another respect in which the theory of the Introduction is imperfectly applied to the translation. According to the Introduction, the poem is written in distichs of three-stressed lines, these distichs being regularly combined into quatrains or "stanzas of four lines" (p. 99). If this be so, distichs and quatrains should be clearly distinguished in the translation by insetting the second line of each distich and spacing between each set of four lines, or by some equally effective device. Unfortunately Professor Jastrow's translation, though it distinguishes the *lines* of the original, distinguishes neither the distichs nor the hypothetical quatrains: it is only possible to discover his view of what constitutes these by counting down the lines from the beginning of the speech. Now parallelism and, though at times more ambiguously, rhythm determine the limits of a distich and its division into two lines; but nothing distinguishes a quatrain except the sense: i.e., the only justification for dividing a Hebrew poem into quatrains is that successive couples of distichs are more closely bound to one another than successive single distichs or successive larger groups of distichs. In Job, as elsewhere, it no doubt often happens that two successive distichs are closely connected, but it also happens at times that *three* successive distichs are as closely connected, or that in a considerable series of distichs any *single* distich is as little or as closely connected with its neighbors as any other. For this reason I regard it as a pure delusion that Job was written in

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quatrains, though in my summary reference to the matter in this *Journal* (xxxvi, 95) I do not seem to have expressed myself with sufficient clearness, for Professor Jastrow on page 105, note 73, cites me as inclining toward the quatrain theory. My view of Bickell's and Duhm's quatrains is that they do not represent a discovery of a form intended by the Hebrew author, but that they impose a form upon the poem partly by the convenient but unwarranted process of dropping out inconvenient distichs, and partly by boldly calling quatrains couples of distichs not intimately associated with one another. How this theory of quatrains works in Professor Jastrow's translation, or rather would be seen to work, if he had outwardly distinguished the quatrains, I must content myself with illustrating by means of a single passage—the opening of Eliphaz' second speech, 15:2–16. (I reproduce the words of Professor Jastrow's translation, but arranged so as to show the distichs and the hypothetical quatrains):

Should a wise man answer wind,
And fill his belly with east wind?
Reasoning without purpose,
And with words that are of no avail?

Just as little canst thou argue away fear of God,
And diminish respect before God.
When thy iniquity instructs thy mouth,
And thou choosest the manner of sophists,

Thy mouth convicts thee—not He;
Thy lips testify against thee.
Wast thou born at the beginning?
Brought forth before the hills?

Hast thou overheard the secret of God?
And hast thou monopolized wisdom?
What dost thou know that we do not know?
And what understanding hast thou which is not with us?

[Elder and greybeard are among us—
More than old enough to be thy father]
Are consolations too small for thee,
And the word that deals gently with thee?
What has taken hold of thy mind?
And why are thy eyes haughty?

[And] thou desirest to give thy spirit back to God,
And givest utterance to [foolish] talk?
What is man that he should think himself pure?
And the one born of woman that he should be innocent?

Even his holy ones he does not trust—
And the heavens are not pure in his sight;
How much less one that is of low estate and impure,
Man who drinks iniquity like water?

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Now of these "quatrains," the first really consists of two closely connected distichs; if the following six all did the same, we might reasonably conclude that the poet intended to write this passage in quatrains. But the second "quatrain," as translated by Professor Jastrow, quite clearly is unreal: the first half of it belongs to what precedes, the second half to the distich that follows. The third "quatrain," however rendered, is unreal; the second distich of it has no close connection with the first, but connects pretty closely with the two following. The fourth "quatrain" might stand, except that, as just suggested, the preceding distich is about as closely connected with it as the two distichs composing it with one another. The fifth "quatrain"—I assume that the bracketed lines are to be disregarded as an insertion—may pass; but the sixth obviously at once combines the incongruous and detaches its second distich from the two following with which it is closely connected.

I find it exceedingly difficult to believe that, had Professor Jastrow distinguished his quatrains in his translation, he could have allowed the passage to stand as I have here printed it. Either he would have given up distinguishing the successive sets of four lines, i.e., he would have abandoned the theory that the poem was written in stanzas of four lines, or he would have been driven with Bickell and others to throw away distichs in order to save his theory. Bickell (German translation, 1894) rejects the first distich of the third of the quatrains above, and the second distich of the sixth as well as the lines bracketed above. This no doubt produces something less distasteful and from the point of view of form, less improbable than the above; on the other hand, both here and in many other passages, the omissions made by Bickell in the interest of quatrains are purely arbitrary.

Closely connected with the question of quatrains is that of tristichs: if the whole poem consists of quatrains, there can be no tristichs except in so far as the quatrainists are capable of redividing two *successive* tristichs and a distich (3+3+2 lines) into two sets of four lines—very simple arithmetic, but very hazardous criticism. Professor Jastrow appears to regard tristichs in Job as impossible, and in the translation, so far as I have observed, consistently removes one of the lines of apparent tristichs. In many particular cases I agree with him, for I have no doubt that the number of apparent tristichs in the existing text exceeds the number in the original text. Thus it is probable that, for example, in 5:5; 6:4; 10:3*c*; 10:22; 11:19; 12:3, the text has suffered from the intrusion of lines, though I do not in every case agree with Professor Jastrow as to what the probably intrusive element is. But the appearance of tristichs may arise, not only from intrusion, but also from loss or transposition of lines; transposition, if anything, is the cause of two apparent tristichs at the very opening of the poem (chap. 3:4, 5—perhaps to be rearranged, 3*a*, *c*, *b*, 5); not intrusion, as Professor Jastrow will have it, suggesting that "'that *day* be darkness' is a comment to 'night' to indicate that a dark *night* is meant!" (the italics are mine).

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The whole question of form is ultimately this: Was it rigid, invariable? Did the lines invariably contain three stresses, no more, no less? Did the lines invariably combine into distichs, never into tristichs? Did the distichs invariably combine into quatrains? I have given reasons for questioning whether Professor Jastrow has worked out the quatrain question; but he has succeeded, so far as the length of line and the combination of lines into distichs are concerned, in securing an invariable form for the whole poem. Has he thereby recovered a uniformity such as the poet intended, or merely such a uniformity as may appeal more strongly to modern taste? With some skill it would no doubt be possible to drop one or two syllables out of all the lines in Shakespeare's plays that exceeded ten syllables, but after all, even though such an exercise might please our taste for regularity, it would deprive us of what the taste of Shakespeare approved.

In one matter of form at least, I find myself in complete agreement with Professor Jastrow. If he rejects tristichs which may actually be the work of the ancient poet, he at least does not follow Bickell and Duhm in manufacturing the appearance of tristichs where no tristichs are; he is right in declining to find any formal argument for attributing the greater part of chapter 24 to any other than the author of the colloquies.

I cannot extend this already lengthy discussion by referring to the numerous passages where I should question the translation or the emendations adopted. With all his freedom in regard to tradition it is strange that Professor Jastrow follows the R.V. in retaining אכלדה in 6:10; "exult" no doubt suits the context, but that סלד means "to exult" is the merest guess—and a very improbable one. It is preferable to emend. Does כמעט mean "E'en though," or נשׂא with an accusative of the *person* "to forgive" (32:32)? Is "Then I would know" a probable rendering of ואני ידעתי (19:25), or "will arise" in the same line a legitimate paraphrase of what the note correctly says is literally "is living"? In 19:26 I consider the first line in the existing text simply unintelligible; and the rendering adopted after Ehrlich "only under *my* skin is this indited" not less improbable than previously attempted renderings. In any case the emphasis on "my" is not expressed in the Hebrew, nor is "only." A criticism of the emendations would largely be a criticism only in a secondary degree of the new volume: for in the Foreword Professor Jastrow tells us that every page of his translation is affected by Ehrlich's *Randglossen*. It is possible to join in the tribute to the memory of this scholar, and to acknowledge the frequent acuteness of his suggestions, while adopting an attitude of far greater reserve toward his work as a whole. Yet in one passage at least of some interest Professor Jastrow might perhaps safely have followed Ehrlich (and others) in preferring the Greek to the Hebrew text, and so confining Job's curse to the day of his birth (3:5).

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# Short Notices

CONDAMIN, A., *Le livre de Jérémie Traduction et commentaire.* Paris: J. Gabalda, 1920. Pp. xlv+380. 24Fr.

This is the work of a well-known Catholic scholar. His Catholicism and his scholarship are both abundantly evident in this book. He holds fast to the Catholic conception of the prophet as the recipient of a supernatural revelation. This dogma determines all of the interpretation. The critics who seek to explain Jeremiah in terms of human experience are refuted again and again on the ground that the supernatural is of course free from human limitation. The prophets are easily classified as "true" and "false," and the determining factor is that the latter were prophets "without a mission," i.e., they were not commissioned by Yahweh. The so-called Scythian prophecies of Jeremiah are made to be utterances from the later Babylonian period, evidently because it would never do for an inspired prophet to have misinterpreted a situation and failed in his prediction as the Scythian hypothesis involves. Practically the whole book comes from Jeremiah himself, only chapters 50–52 and fragmentary glosses here and there being excepted.

Père Condamin knows the extensive literature on Jeremiah, both ancient and modern, thoroughly. He attempts to explain the apparent disorder in the arrangement of the contents of Jeremiah by positing the publication of the prophecies in two instalments. The first collection (chaps. 1–28, as in LXX) comes from the days before 586; the second (chaps. 32–49) from the period after 586. This latter section deals with events happening after 586 and includes oracles and narratives that could not well be published while Jehoiakim and Zedekiah were living. This view is founded upon St. John Thackeray's discovery of the fact that the LXX of Jeremiah comes from two different translators. The text of Jeremiah is given a new French rendering and is arranged in strophes and poems in accordance with the principles of responsion, antithesis, and inclusion made familiar by D. H. Müller and by previous works of Père Condamin.

J. M. POWIS SMITH

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BOESER, P. A. A., *Beschrijving van de egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. IX: Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede Serie.* 1917. *X: Ditto. Derde Serie.* 1918.

The notable publication of Egyptian treasures at Leyden is being worthily continued.[1] Volumes IX and X illustrate in detail some painted coffins from the XXI–XXII Dynasties, which were obtained almost a century ago (1828) in the J. d'Anastasy collection. An account of these had been given by Director Leemans in his "Description Raisonnée" as early as 1840, but their scenes now first become accessible in photographic reproduction for the student of Egyptian religion and mythology.

Volume IX takes up the outer coffin of Amenhotep, a priest of Amon and of Mut, together with the lid of his second coffin and lids belonging to *Nśy-p³-nb-³w·t-yb* (rather than *Nśy-p³-nb-³w* as stated) and to Penpii. The ten plates of Volume X are all devoted to a coffin of "the chief of the clerks of the Amon-temple, with whom the king's heart is content," Zet-ment. His unabbreviated name *Ḏd-mnṯ-yw·f-ᶜnḫ* appears in Figures 3 and 35. For Dr. Boeser has not only accompanied his plates with detailed verbal explanation of the painted scenes, but has added copious hand copies of the texts, which it is often impossible to make wholly legible in the photographs.

It is a pleasure to look forward to the continuation of such thorough work as Dr. Boeser is devoting to the Leyden Egyptian collection.

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[1] The previous volumes have been reviewed in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXIII, 264–65; XXVI, 133; XXVII, 346–47; XXIX, 229–30; XXX, 229–30; XXXIII, 259–60.



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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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# THE FALL AND RISE OF BABYLON

BY A. T. OLMSTEAD
University of Illinois

The problem of Babylon dominates the reign of Sennacherib. His father, Sargon, had been welcomed with open arms by the citizens as a whole, but there was still a strong faction which favored the return of Merodach Baladan, who could also depend for support on the large number of semi-nomadic Aramaean tribes which had been but imperfectly brought under the control of the Assyrians.[1]

Sennacherib refused to follow his father's policy in making himself king. Instead, he handed over Babylon to a younger brother,[2] while retaining such a grip on affairs that the king lists could actually speak of him as the ruling monarch. Chauvinistic writers, however, marked the years 704–703 as "kingless." Then, how we do not know, Assyrian rule came to an end and with it disappeared the unnamed brother of the Assyrian king. For a single month a certain Marduk zakir shum succeeded in holding the throne against the attacks of Marduk bel ushezib and Marduk balatsu iqbi (703).[3] Merodach

[1] For the reign, cf. Olmstead, "Western Asia in the Reign of Sennacherib," *Proceedings of the American Historical Association*, 1909, pp. 94 ff.; for bibliography and source criticism, Olmstead, *Historiography*, pp. 43 ff.; the present article is based on the new edition in preparation by the author of this article. Valuable supplements are to be found in the bas-reliefs, described by Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, and *Nineveh and Babylon;* reproduced, Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh;* Paterson, *Sculptures of Sinacherib*. These are abbreviated *NR*, *NB*, *MN*, and *P*.

[2] So Berossus: there is no trace as yet of this brother in the contemporary documents, and Sidney Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, p. 17, n. 1, denies its reality.

[3] King, *Chron.*, II, 65; cf. Olmstead, *Sennacherib*, pp. 96 f.



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Baladan reappeared and retrieved his old position with the aid of Shutruk nahhunte of Elam. The Elamite king did not appear in person, but sent his *turtanu* Imbappa, his second charioteer, Tannanu, Nergal nasir, the chief of the nomad Sutu.[1] With them Sennacherib declares there came eighty thousand bowmen and an unknown number of cavalry. With them he also places ten *rab kisirs*, that is commanders of a *kisru*, and as a *kisru* consisted seemingly of such a number as we would find in our company, the number may be much reduced.

All the chief cities of Babylonia opened their gates to receive Merodach Baladan, and with him were allied all the Aramaean tribes of the alluvium.[2] Six months[3] Merodach Baladan was allowed

[1] Sidney Smith, *First Campaign*, p. 10, rightly compares these Sutu with the classical Sittacene.

[2] The cities are Ur, Eridu, Kullab, Kissik, Nimid Laguda, Nippur, (Babylon?), Borsippa, Kutu, Kish, Harsagkalama. The lesser tribes are the Tu'muna, cf. Olmstead, *Sargon*, p. 44, n. 5; the Rihihu, Iadaqqu, Ubudu, Kipre, who gave their name to the modern Kifri, Malihu, Gurumu, Ubulu, who named the Arab city of Ubulla, cf. the Ibulu of the Puqudu, Olmstead, *Sargon*, p. 133, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ua, Puqudu on the Ukni (?), Hamranu, connected with the Ḫamrin hills, Hagaranu, to be compared with the lesser wife of Abraham, Nabatu, the later Nabataeans, Li'tau. The new inscription published by Sidney Smith gives a long list of settlements in central Babylonia, but close examination proves somewhat disappointing. Quite a number are of well-known cities, others are merely descriptive or contain the name of an individual which was not likely to be long remembered, and the net result is small. In the Dakkuri country, west and south of Babylon, we have Amatu, Hauae, Supabu, Nuqabu, the House of Sannabi, Quṭain, Kidrina, the Fort of Ladini (Sargon, *Ann.*, 287 ff. Dur Ladinna), Bitati (the houses), Banitu, Guzummanu, the Fort of Ianṣuri, the Fort of Abiata', the Fort of Rudumme, the House of Rahe, Hapisha, Sadian, Hurudu, Ṣahrina, Iltuk, Allallu, Marad (Wānah wa Sadūm), Iaqimuna, Kubruna, the House of Kudurri, the Market (Suqa) of Marusi (cf. the modern Sūq esh Sheūkh on the Lower Tigris). South of this group lay the much smaller group of Bit Sa'alli, consisting of the forts of Appé, Tane, Sama' (cf. Samawa, Banks, *Bismya*, p. 411), the city of Sarrabatu, Ṣalahatu, the Fort of Abdai, Sappihimari, Ṣibtu sha al Makkame (the settlement of the city Makkame). The largest group is that of Amuqqani, Sapia (Tiglath Pileser, Clay Tablet, I, 23), Sarrabanu (*ibid.*, 15), Larak, Barmarri (?), the House of Ilu bani, Ahudu, the city of the bird of Adad (Sha issur Adad, the land Sha issur Adad also occurs in the list published by Pinches, *PSBA*, XVIII, 256, cf. the Usur Adad of H. 763.), the city of the irrigation ditch (Sha harratu), Manahhu, the city of people (Sha amele), the Fort of Akkia (one is tempted to compare Derajieh, Banks, *Bismya*, p. 413), Nagitu (see below), Nurabinu, Harṣuarra, the Fort of Rukbi, Dandahulla, the Fort of Bir Dada, the house of shepherds (Bit ri'e), the Fort of Ugurri (cf. al Ājurr in Baghdad, Yaqut, *s.v.*), Hindaina (the city of the Hindanu tribe), the Fort of Uait, the House of Taura, Saphuna, Buharru, the ruined cities (Harbe) belonging to Iddinna and Kalbi, the city sha barre, the House of Bani ilua, Suladu, the House of Iltamasama', the House of Dini ilu, Daqala, Hameza, Bela, Tairu, Kipranu, Iltaratu, Akamshakina, the Sagabatu belonging to Mardukia. Finally, we have the few cities of Bit Iakin, the House of Zabidia, the ancient cities of Larsa, Kullab, Eridu, Kissik, Nimid Laguda, together with Dur Iakin and Kar Nabu, on the shore of the Bitter River, the Persian Gulf. Few in number, the cities listed to Dur Iakin outweigh in importance all the others. Considering the character of these "mighty cities," we may doubt if the 820 "small cities of their territories" were even farmsteads, much less hamlets.

[3] So Berossus: nine according to the king list.

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to reign in peace, and then Sennacherib left Ashur on the twentieth of Shabatu, February, 702. While he himself began the siege of Kutu, his commander in chief was sent ahead to Kish where Merodach Baladan had drawn up his forces. The Assyrian general received the worst of the struggle and sent messengers to beg aid from his chief. Urged by this necessity, Sennacherib assaulted Kutu with fire and took it, while Nergal nasir and the Elamite captains surrendered. He then hastened to Kish, whence Merodach Baladan as hastily decamped. Tannanu, who was left behind with the remaining troops, was defeated, and among the captives were Adinu, the stepson of Merodach Baladan, and Basqanu, brother of Iati'e, the queen of the Arabs.

The sculptures of Sennacherib were labeled on the extreme upper edge, and the subsequent burning of the palace has almost without exception destroyed these epigraphs. Two scenes which represent the capture of two cities, may be assigned with some probability to the struggles before Kutu and Kish. One group is dominated by a huge river which fills a third of the reliefs. The king remained on the far side while his soldiers swam across. An outpost was vigorously defended by archers, and in the city proper five square gates gave access to a smaller stream. When the outpost was taken, the high battlements and lofty stage towers of the city fell an easy prey. The women, convoyed on ox carts, wore a long outer robe and inner shirt, the men a short tunic fastened at the waist by a broad belt, and the hair of both was filleted. A dozen statues of the gods, their hands raised and with staffs in their left, completed the picture. The second city was on the near side of the river and was surrounded by a reed-filled ditch. Among the spoil we have especially noted the bowls and caldrons, beds and thrones, spear bundles and swords. Lest we should fail to realize that the deportation of the captives took place in the fearful summer heat, the artist has indicated the season by the huge clusters of ripe dates which load the palm trees.

Babylon and the palace of Merodach Baladan with its accumulated treasures fell into the hands of Sennacherib without further fighting. By this time the Chaldaean ruler had taken refuge in the swamps of Guzumannu, whose jungle-like recesses are pictured in the Assyrian reliefs. Up the watery ways, almost like narrow streets,

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the startled inhabitants pushed their rafts, squatted behind the reeds, several times man height, or from their shelter shot arrows at the invaders who pursued them in light wicker boats. After but five days in the marshes, it was reported that no trace of the Chaldaeans could be found and all pretense of pursuit was abandoned.

After the occupation of Babylon, Sennacherib claims the conquest of eighty-eight mighty cities and eight hundred and twenty smaller cities of their territory. Some are shown in the pictures; for example, one of the few sets which has preserved its label shows Dilbat surrounded by palm trees and with a river on either side, while another represents Kasisu with its spoil reviewed by the king. A third group depicts the captivity of a tribe settled along a river, their millet fields in ear surrounded by reed swamps and palm trees, their towns graced by a peculiar wedge-shaped ornament on the walls. The captive women bore vases and caldrons, the men large wicker-work baskets and some drove ox-drawn carts. These were the tribesmen from Dakkuru, Sa'ali, Amuqqani, and Iakin, and we have an elaborate list of their towns; these give every possible hamlet, and the hundreds of smaller cities cannot even be farmsteads. That these nomads should be settled in the oldest cities of Babylonia is the saddest proof of the degree to which the country had fallen from its former estate.

The attempt to hold Babylonia as a separate dependency under the rule of a member of the royal family had proved a failure. Sennacherib was still patient and hoped to win over the dissatisfied Babylonians by giving them a native Chaldaean, Bel ibni by name, whom he calls "the son of the chief architect, the seed of Babylon," but who seems to have been in reality a member of the family of Merodach Baladan.[1] He had passed the greater part of his life "as a little dog" in Sargon's palace in Kalhu[2] and might therefore be supposed pro-Assyrian.[3] Special fortifications were placed in

[1] The second Bel ibni, the best-known official of the reign of Ashur nasir apal, praises his lord for setting up the house of Merodach Baladan (H. 521, reading of Waterman), which clearly makes him a member of that family; the similarity of names makes connection between the two Bel ibnis probable.

[2] In J. 292 of 707, Bel ibni of Kalhu appears as witness.

[3] The Elibos of Berossus and the Canon of Ptolemy imply a mistaken reading of Bel epush, as Bel ibni is spelled out in Bab. Chron., II, 23.

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Larak and Sharraba, and on his homeward way, Sennacherib crushed a combination of tribesmen who had gathered to oppose him.[1]

In the course of this expedition, Sennacherib also received the tribute of Nabu bel shumate, the *qepu* of the city of Hararati. The Hirimme, who of old had never paid tribute to his fathers, he claims he slew until not one soul survived his sword. The country was resettled, and on the new inhabitants was placed the duty of furnishing "forever" an ox, ten sheep, ten homers of sesame wine, twenty homers of fine dates, as the stated dues of the god Ashur. We are a long distance from the 80,050 oxen and the 800,100 sheep which Sennacherib claims to have brought back to Assyria.[2]

Affairs in Babylonia seemed sufficiently settled to permit an attempt to win back the Egyptian frontier, but the campaign against Hezekiah of Judah (701) simply furnished another opportunity for the Chaldaeans. Bel ibni recognized the claims of race and united with his kinsman Merodach Baladan, and with Nergal ushezib, who, from his home in the swampland, was intriguing for the throne he was later to fill. Reduction of the Chaldaean territory proper could no longer be postponed.

First to be met was Nergal ushezib—Shuzub Sennacherib calls him—who went down to defeat at Bit Tuti (700). The news of the disaster and the fear of the resultant invasion drove Merodach Baladan to a desperate step. Collecting his gods in their shrines and the bones of his ancestors from their last resting places, the incongruous cargo was shipped to Nagitu in the midst of the sea. Reverence for the dead outweighed regard for the living, and many of his kinsmen and even his brother were left behind on the shore to become the prey of the Assyrians. The lands he had occupied were harried, and fifteen thousand of each of the two arms were added to the royal service, but the campaign could hardly be called a success when the arch enemy was safe in Elam. The policy of conciliation which had borne such evil fruit was now definitely

[1] These are the tribes listed above, from Tu'muna to Li'tau.

[2] Hirimu and Harutu are forts of Kar Duniash, Ashur nasir apal, *Ann.*, II, 130; cf. the Hirutu and Hilmun of Sargon, Olmstead, *Sargon*, p. 132, n. 13. For this first campaign of Sennacherib (702), the only Assyrian source to use now is the newly discovered text published by Sidney Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, 1921. The Bab. Chron., II, 17 ff. is also worthy of use. The sculptures are *MN*, I, 72 ff.; II, 25 ff.; 35, 41 ff.; *NR*, II, p. 110; *NB*, pp. 68, 103, 231 ff., 438 ff., 443 f.; *P*, 12 f., 40 ff., 51 ff., 91 ff.

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abandoned, and Sennacherib returned to that of placing an Assyrian ruler on the throne. The crown prince, Ashur nadin shum (699–693),[1] was old enough to undertake the task, so Bel ibni was deposed and carried back to end his life in Assyria,[2] where he was living a quiet life as late as 682.[3]

Ashur nadin shum had not been long in Babylon before the conviction became a certainty that there was no hope of the city remaining content with Assyrian rule while Merodach Baladan lived. The result was an undertaking unique in the Assyrian annals. Strange as it may seem, neither the Assyrians nor Babylonians possessed commercial or naval fleets on the Persian Gulf. Indeed, if we are to judge by this evidence alone, even the commercially minded Babylonians forgot the cheapness of water transport, when the Gulf was concerned, or had it already obtained its evil reputation for pirates?

Like the Persians after them, the Assyrians were forced to rely on the Phoenicians. Orders were given them to construct great ships, such as we are shown in Sennacherib's sculptures which represent the campaign of 701, at the head of navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, at Nineveh and at Til Barsip.[4] Their crews too were foreign—Tyrians, Sidonians, and even Ionian Greeks. Some of the ships descended the Tigris to Upia (Opis) whence they were dragged through the reeds by means of wooden rollers to the Arahtu at Babylon and so into the Euphrates, thus preventing the news of the mobilization from coming to the ears of the Elamites. Troops were then placed on board and the fleet passed through the Dakkuru territory to the land of the Chaldaeans. The remainder floated down the Euphrates with the grain and barley for the horses, collected from the fertile region about Til Barsip. The whole force came together at Bab Salimeti. Though the camp was pitched two hours distant from the coast line, the tide soon came up and began to enter the tents. There was actual danger that the entire

[1] Mentioned *KTA*, 49.

[2] Edition IV (Cylinder C); Bab. Chron., II, 26 ff.

[3] J. 222; cf. J. 101. For Nagitu and Nagiti raqqi, cf. Scheil, *Del.*, I, 18, n. 1; the Nagiti of the Shamash shum ukin tablet, Delaporte, *ZA*, XIX, 387; cf. Scheil, *RT*, XXIV, 28, is in North Babylonia, cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCLXXI.

[4] Edition X (Memorial Tablet), 23 ff.

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expedition might be wiped out, and Sennacherib himself confesses that he was forced to take refuge on the fleet where he remained for five days, shut up as in a great cage. We can understand how the Phoenicians from the tideless Mediterranean should not know the action of the tides; it seems hardly credible that there was no responsible person in the army who possessed the requisite information. So alarmed was Sennacherib by the accident that he determined not to take charge of the expedition in person. The ships, however, continued on with the troops to the swamps at the mouth of the river where the Euphrates then discharged its waters direct into the receding sea. Ea, the god of the deep, whose wrath might be seen in their misfortune, was propitiated by elaborate sacrifices. Like Xerxes and Alexander crossing the Hellespont,[1] gifts were thrown into the sea—a fish, a ship, an *allutu*, all of gold. From the account of these formalities, we should naturally assume that a trip of some length lay before the fleet; as a matter of fact, it was merely the crossing of a corner of the gulf to the Ulai River, probably not more than a single day's journey for the slowest of the boats. Curious, too, is the thought that for long centuries the part of the map they sailed has become solid land far to the north of the present shore line. Once more the inexperience of the army proved its undoing. The invaders landed at a most unsuitable site where the shore was marshy. Having waded through the shallow water, they found drawn up on the firmer banks of the Ulai a huge army, native Elamites, Chaldaeans from Nagitu and Nagitu Dibina, men of Hilmun, of Pillatu, and of Hupapanu. The Assyrians tell as usual of cities laid waste, of domestic animals made spoil, of the captivity of the spoil of Bit Iakin. In reality it was nothing but a raid and directed against territory which had already been invaded by Tiglath Pileser and Sargon. The return of the ships to Sennacherib, who was awaiting them at Bab Salimeti, marked the definite abandonment of the attempt to take Merodach Baladan, dead or alive (694).[2]

The expedition did have one unexpected consequence. In Elam, the year 699 had seen the downfall of Shutruk nahhunte and his imprisonment at the hands of his brother Hallushu. Foreign

[1] Herod. vii. 54; Arrian. *Anab.* i. 11, 6.

[2] Edition IX (Bull IV), 48 ff.; Bab. Chron., II, 36 ff.; cf. de Morgan, *Dél.*, I, 17 ff.

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war to make safe his throne was desirable, and everything was most propitious for stirring up trouble in Babylonia, where discontent was rife. The main Assyrian army was far to the south and could easily be cut off. So in the spring of 694 Hallushu marched straight into Babylonia, fell upon Sippar, put its inhabitants to death, and sent Ashur nadin shum to Elam to meet his fate.[1] Soon after, Babylon came into his hands, and Nergal ushezib, the son of Gahul, realized at last his ambition with Elamite aid. At the end of the year north Babylonia was garrisoned by Elamite armies, and Hallushu had begun the invasion of the Assyrian homeland. By the following July (Du'uzu 15), the Elamites had secured Nippur, the central point of Babylonia.[2]

The rapid progress of the enemy was sufficient cause for alarm. The crown prince was a captive, if not already mercifully relieved by death, the north was in Elamite hands, the greater part of the regular army was in the south and completely encircled. The feeling of those at home is well illustrated by the editions of the bull inscriptions which tell us of the expeditions by sea. One was already prepared when the news of the successful landing first arrived, and a brief sketch was added to bring the document up to date.[3] The second gives the detailed account which we have used in the preceding narrative. It ends abruptly and all reference to the enthronement of the unfortunate crown prince is carefully omitted.[4] The terrible news from Babylonia had reached Nineveh.

In the meantime the imperiled Assyrians in south Babylonia had remained a whole year without movement. Not until the end of September were they able to take the offensive, and by that time Uruk had been handed over by its citizens to the enemy. Thus, all Babylonia with almost no exceptions was Elamite when the Assyrians mustered courage sufficient to fight their first battle. In retaliation for the lost Ashur nadin shum, the Assyrians executed the son of Hallushu, the Elamites fell back, and Uruk was recaptured. Again the citizens were plundered of their gods and goods, only to fall almost immediately into the hands of the Chaldaeans. One week

[1] Before 12 Tashritu, 694, when J. 201 gives Arad Ninlil as crown prince.
[2] Bab. Chron., II, 32 ff.
[3] Bull III.
[4] Bull IV; cf. Olmstead, *Historiography*, p. 43.

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later the final battle of the campaign was contested at Nippur. A second time the Assyrians gained the upper hand, but the capture of the rebel was due to diplomacy and not to the prowess of their warriors, as Sennacherib makes claim.[1] A letter of Ashur bani apal, written to the citizens of Nippur when again a rebel was shut up in their city, relates how a certain Adad baraka surrendered Nergal ushezib, and how the successful traitor was extended on a balance and the other arm weighted with the silver which was to be the reward of his treason. Nergal ushezib was dragged away captive to Assyria and exposed in the great gate of Nineveh. But this was only revenge; it could not restore his first born.[2]

If we take the Assyrian accounts at face value, they won great glory. Checked up by the topography, we realize that these victories barely won a safe return for the army which had been surrounded in Babylonia. The alluvium was no longer in any sense Assyrian. A successor to Nergal ushezib was found in the Chaldaean Mushezib Marduk who had resisted the governor of the recently established province of Lahiru, had been driven out of the swamps to Elam, and now came back in the train of the foreign conqueror. That conqueror was not to triumph long, for on the twenty-sixth of the same month which had seen the capture of Uruk and of Nergal ushezib, Hallushu met his death in an uprising and his place was taken by a certain Kutir Nahhunte.[3]

The change in Elam seemed to offer opportunities for revenge that very year, late as was the season. The Assyrians easily won back Bit Hair and Rasa, boundary posts of whose possession the Elamites had deprived Sargon, and which were once more garrisoned and placed under the fortress chief of Der. A long list of cities likewise easily fell a prey to the invaders. When Kutir Nahhunte heard the report, he left Madaktu with its palm-covered groves

[1] Edition X (Memorial Ins.), pp. 27 ff.

[2] H. 938; Figulla, *Bêlibni*, pp. 82 f.; H. 685, of Nabu shum iddina, with its reference to Mushezib, hardly belongs here.

[3] Bab. Chron., II, 39 ff., which gives the clue to the general course of events, as well as to the chronology. The Memorial Tablet, 27 ff., is, contrary to the general rule, better than the Taylor inscription, though it is later. Failure to observe this caused the error in *Sennacherib*, p. 98, where it is assumed that the king himself was in lower Babylonia. The Memorial Tablet clearly shows that the king was in Nineveh, and we may even ask whether this casts doubt on the statement that the king presided in person at the inauguration of the sea expedition.

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between the rivers and retreated to Hadalia in the far distant mountains. It was now the month of January, and the terrible cold, the rain, and the snow proved too much for the Assyrian morale. Sennacherib frankly admits that he feared the brooks and the torrents and returned hastily to Nineveh.[1]

The expected revolution followed this defeat, and Kutir Nahhunte, after but ten months of power, was succeeded in August, 692, by his brother, Umman menanu. Invited to assist Mushezib Marduk, the allies mustered an army of rarely composite character. Many came from the Elamite frontier, from Parsuash in the north and Anzan far to the south, Pashiru, Ellipi, which in the days of Sargon had been an Assyrian dependency, the men of Iazan, Lakipra, Harzunu, the cities of Dumuqu and Sula. On the other hand, were the Aramaean peoples, headed by Samuna, the son of Merodach Baladan, the people of the houses of Adini, Amukkana, Tarlana, and Sala, from Larak, still the city of the Puqudu, the Gambulu, Halatu, Ru'ua, Ubula, Malahu, Rapihu, Hindaru, Damunu, to continue the list is almost to repeat the census of the Aramaean tribes in Babylonia.

No stand was made by the Assyrians until the motley host had reached Halulina on the Tigris. The official account is picturesque enough. Shuzub was driven into flight, Humban undasha, the Elamite commander was killed, and Nabu shum ishkun, another son of Merodach Baladan, was taken alive, while a hundred and fifty thousand of the enemy were slaughtered. The account is a notable contribution to Assyrian literature, but hardly to the political history of Assyria. The details are as vague as they are picturesque, and suspicion is roused by the abrupt manner in which, with no mention of further results, our sources turn to the building operations. It hardly needs the definite statement of the impartial Babylonian Chronicle to prove that the recital is simply a clever bit of lying propaganda, and that in reality Sennacherib suffered a crushing defeat (691).[2]

Yet two more years of preparation, years of which we have no record, were required before, at the end of November (1 *Kislimu*),

[1] Edition X, 36 ff.; Edition XI (Taylor Cyl.), IV, 43 ff.

[2] Edition X (Memorial Tablet), 48 ff.; Edition XI (Taylor Cyl.), V, 5 ff.; Edition XII (Bavian Ins.), 34 ff.; Bab. Chron., III, 16 ff.

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689, Babylon fell before the Assyrian mines and siege engines. The patience of Sennacherib was exhausted. He had treated Babylon with unusual kindness, proof of which remains to this day in the splendid breccia pavement of the Procession Street.[1] Conciliation and firm rule had been alike futile, and they had rewarded his favors by betraying his first born. The carnage was permitted to continue until the corpses filled the public squares. All the treasures which Babylon had accumulated by the plunder of still earlier capitals were taken as spoil by the soldiers, who went so far in their impiety that they crushed into fragments the very statues of the gods themselves. We may connect with this last act of sacrilege the discovery in Babylon of Adad and Shala, city gods of Ekallate, who had been stolen from their Assyrian homes by Marduk nadin ahe when he had bested Tiglath Pileser I, four hundred and eighteen years before.[2] The new turn of fortune which restored them to their homes sent Marduk in his turn a captive to Ashur. Every house in the city was destroyed and burned, the inner and outer walls, the temples and temple towers were torn down and thrown into the Arahtu. Canals were dug through the site and the city overwhelmed with water.[3] Revenge was likewise taken on the allies of the accursed city, notably the Amuqqani in the next year.[4]

The restoration of Babylon was due to a series of accidents.[5] The first son of Sennacherib to be made crown prince was Ashur nadin shum, whose untimely fate we have already learned.[6] In October of the same year, 694, this title was conferred upon Arad Ninlil who soon after disappeared, either because of death or because of another rival.[7] Next came Ashur ahi iddina, Esarhaddon as he was known to the Hebrews. He had many enemies at court and the scribes and seers, in particular one Kalbi, son of Nabu etir,

[1] Koldewey, *Babylon*, pp. 52 f.

[2] Cf. Olmstead, *JAOS*, XXXVII 183.

[3] Edition XII (Bavian Ins.), 43 ff.; Bab. Chron., III, 22.

[4] J. 620.

[5] This section of the narrative was complete before the study of F. Schmidtke, *Asarhaddons Statthalterschaft in Babylonien*, 1916, came to hand. Schmidtke has collected the greater part of the pertinent material but his interpretation in several points needs correction. In particular, he has overemphasized the part played in the events by the secular enmity between Babylon and Assyria.

[6] Was he the son of Tashmetum sharrat, *MDOG*, XXI, 21 ff.; *KTA*, 50?

[7] J. 201 of 12 Tabitu, 694.

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reported to Sennacherib in tablet after tablet that he marched with an unfavorable and black sign.[1] But his father inquired of Shamash and the answer was favorable, so Esarhaddon was formally installed in the Succession House. His name, "Ashur has added a brother," proved only too well that he was not the first born, and he therefore received the more impressive Ashur etil ilani mukin apal, "Ashur lord of the gods, has established an heir,"[2] and we still have preserved the record of the gifts, spoil of the Amuqqani, presented by his father after the naming.[3] It would appear that it was in 687 that the change was made; an unusual honor was paid to the new crown prince. The year had been specially honored by being named for Sennacherib himself; he now transferred the honor as a sort of *consul suffectus* to Esarhaddon, and several official texts are known to have been dated in this manner.[4] Like Ashur nadin shum, Esarhaddon was given charge of Babylonia,[5] and took up his residence in the border city of Zaqqap.[6]

But there were other children in the royal family, Arad Malik, Ashur shum ushabshi, and Ashur ilu muballitsu, at least,[7] and there were enough leaders in Assyria, especially among the military party, who suspected the effect of a residence in Babylonia and who would gladly support any member of the royal family who challenged his right to the throne.

The revolt broke out in the beginning of 680 and Sennacherib was assassinated. The Hebrew author of the story found in Kings gives as the murderers his two sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer; the former is presumably Arad Malik, the latter has been identified

[1] H. 1216; Peiser, *MVAG*, III, 6, 34 ff.

[2] *KTA*, 53 f.; *MDOG*, XXII, 16; Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, p. 89; H. 308.

[3] III R. 16, 3; Budge, *History of Esarhaddon*, pp. 14 f.; Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 55; J. 620; KU. 13; H. 1452; Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, 88; cf. the Sippar lion head, Pinches, *PSBA*, V, 14.

[4] Esarhaddon appears in Canon III in place of Sennacherib; that it is not a mere error is shown by Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, 14 ff.; cf. J. A. Maynard, *AJSL*, XXXIV, 47, seemingly unknown to Schmidtke.

[5] Berosus in Euseb., *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, p. 27.

[6] H. 1216; Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, p. 112, thinks that Esarhaddon was in Hani Galbat at the time of the murder of his father, but this is due to the belief that the murder took place in Babylon.

[7] II Kings, 19:37; J. 804; Scheil, *RT*, XXII, 37; XXVI, 27; *Del.*, XIV, 43; *ZA*, XI, 425 ff.; *KTA*, 43 f.; *MDOG*, XX, 33; H. 1078; cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCXXXVIII ff.; Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, pp. 104 f.

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with some probability as the Nabu shar usur, the *rab saris* or chief eunuch who was in 682 eponym and governor of Marqasi or Marʿash.[1] Esarhaddon was still in Zaqqap. There was constant danger of assassination, his attendants were doubtful, and even his mother hesitated to urge him to an adventure which might end his life.[2] Then up rose Bel ushezib and prophesied to the magician Dada and then to the queen mother herself, declaring that her son was destined to obtain the kingship, rebuild Babylon, and restore its temple Esagila.[3] Ishtar of Arbela likewise raised her voice, sharply asked Zakutu why she had abandoned her son, and gave him the needful encouragement, and in this she was assisted by the other gods.[4]

In the capital all was chaos. When the news was made public that Sennacherib was dead, the wife of the governor of Ashur hastily entered the palace to comfort him, but he sent her out again. The inhabitants wept; a kid was sacrificed; the officials placed rings on their fingers and clothed themselves in red, the color of death. They took their position before their chief, and Qisa, the singer, with his daughters, made music before them. They spoke to the prophet. The fastenings of the gate were opened; Danai brought forth the dead body, and other officials followed. The governor and his troops were covered with wrappings, and the partisans of Esarhaddon who send the report frankly admit that at first they feared when they saw the drawn iron daggers of the governor of Ashur and his assassins. After a time they plucked up courage and demanded of Hambi, the Messenger: "Why do we merely weep? The governor and his men with drawn daggers are standing at our heads, both in the palace and in the government house." Thus encouraged, Hambi went to the lock and gave order "Open the door!" While he was engaged in

[1] II Kings, 19:37; Rost, *KAT*[3], p. 84, n. 3. If the Nisroch of the biblical passage is really Marduk, then naturally the Marduk temple in Ashur is meant, for Marduk was now in captivity at the capital, and his Babylonian temple was in ruins. On the basis of the material already known, A. Condamin, *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 1918, pp. 418 ff., had already shown that Sennacherib was murdered in Assyria; the letter H. 473, see below, now proves beyond doubt that it took place in Ashur.

[2] Cf. the Ishtar oracles.

[3] H. 1216.

[4] IV R. 61; Banks, *AJSL*, XIV, 267 ff.; Gray, in Harper, *Literature*, pp. 414 ff.; Jastrow, *Religion*, II, 158 ff.; Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, pp. 115 ff. S. 1089, Harran oracles, does not, with Schmidtke, p. 85, n. 1, belong here, but to the Egyptian expeditions.

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putting to death the sons of Zazaku, the writers had killed the governor and the opposition to Esarhaddon in the capital collapsed.[1] The final struggle with the rebels in Hani Galbat completed their overthrow and drove them in flight to Armenia.[2]

The expedition had begun in the snow and ice of Shabatu (February) and the beginning of the next month Esarhaddon was before Nineveh which had held out to the last. The great quay wall erected by his father stood firm, and Esarhaddon was in despair. He again made inquiry of the oracle of Ishtar and was again reassured: "Fear not, O king, it is I who am speaking to thee; I will not reject thee, I will give thee courage, I will not make thee ashamed. The river in safety I will make thee cross."[3] So, by order of the gods of the quay, Sin and Shamash, the troops crossed the broad stream as if it had been a ditch. On the eighth of Adar, the middle of March, the last stronghold of the rebels fell. The leaders had indeed escaped, but their unfortunate followers remained, and on them justice was executed until there remained none of their seed.[4] Assyria was at last at peace and Sennacherib too found a "palace of rest, a grave of peace, an eternal dwelling" in the ancient capital.[5]

The new reign, it was already clear, was to be under the ghostly control of his priestly advisers. Priestly influence was intimately connected with reverence for Babylon. The mother of Esarhaddon, Zakutu, was strongly interested in Babylonia. Here, in Lahiru and Shabbu, were her special cities;[6] when ill, she felt the hand of Nana, the goddess of Uruk, strongly upon her,[7] to mitigate the wrath of the

[1] H. 473; Johns, *Deeds*, II, 148; Meissner, *WZDM*, XII, 59 ff.; Behrens, *Breife*, p. 20; Klauber, *Beamt.*, p. 21; Waterman, *AJSL*, XXVIII, 140. In *Sargon*, p. 158, n. 46 I attributed it wrongly to the death of Sargon, but the individuals mentioned make it certain that it is later. Zer ibni, mentioned in a broken context, is the eponym for 718, but Zazaku (var. Zazaia, Zazai, and Zaze) was eponym 692 and Dana (var. Danaia, Dannaia) dates from 680–668. Corrections in text and translation are due to Professor Waterman, with whom the interpretation was jointly worked out.

[2] So II Kings 19:37; Isaiah 37:39; the official records only say that the rebels fled to "an unknown land." Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, pp. 112 f., would see in the biblical Ararat, not Urartu proper but Shupria, and compares the Shuprian expedition, Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 28 ff.; but this was much later, in 673, and the primary cause of the war was the refusal to surrender serfs and citizens who had fled their duties.

[3] Ishtar oracles.

[4] Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, pp. 90 ff., has the latest text, reconstructed from the various fragments of Cylinder B, for which see Olmstead, *Historiography*, pp. 48 ff.

[5] *KTA*, 46 f.; Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, p. 112.

[6] J. 301; 738.

[7] Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 102.

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goddess, Esarhaddon reconstructed the chapel of Nana in the Eanna temple of that city.[1] His wife, the mother of Shamash shum ukin, was likewise a native of Babylonia.[2] Adding support to all these family influences was the fact that his rebel brothers had found their support in Assyria; indeed, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that the support of the south was purchased only by the promise of restoration for the capital.

So, when Iddina sharru and his son Zakiru wrote to remind him of the manner in which Tiglath Pileser IV and his successors had guarded the chartered rights of Babylon and had firmly established the income of Esagila and Ezida,[3] Esarhaddon was prepared to listen to their overtures. Very vividly does he place before us the sorrows of the stricken city, though none would suspect that the king he is so careful not to name was his own father.[4] But the merciful god Marduk had appointed a term of but ten years for such troubles and he chose Esarhaddon from among his brethren to rule over Assyria. The celestial bodies were propitious and Marduk gave orders that the learned workmen should enter the House of Wisdom in Ashur, and gave the names of those who should take part in the work. In February, Esarhaddon himself entered the House of Wisdom, and called together the carpenters, the stone masons, the metal workers, and the architects, and set forth the building shown him in a dream. Ashur was bribed with a crown of red gold, and the other gods, especially those of the Babylonian rivals of Babylon, Borsippa, Der, Larsa, Sippar, were likewise conciliated. All the skilled workmen and the men of the *corvee* were levied for the undertaking; they were made to carry the yoke and on them was placed the *corvee*. The foundation stone was laid by the king on his own head and carried to its appropriate place. Bricks were formed with an instrument of ivory, box, ebony, and palm, and the terrace was made greater. All the various grades of priests were reinstated; the images of the captive gods were returned from Elam and Assyria

[1] Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XI, 96 ff.; Clay, *Misc. Ins.*, No. 40.

[2] Shamash shum ukin, Bilingual.

[3] Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 24.

[4] Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, 108, argues that Sennacherib began the reconstruction of Babylon before his death, but this improbable change in policy is developed only to explain why Sennacherib was killed in Babylon.

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and were replaced in their respective shrines. For an eternal prescription, the fixed offerings which had fallen into disuse were re-established.

The city likewise rose from its ruins. *Imgur Bel*, the inner wall, and *Nimitti Bel*, the outer wall, were rebuilt from foundation to coping. The sons of Babylon, who had gone into slavery and had been given up to band and bond, were reassembled, given peaceful habitations, and made citizens once more. Formerly, they had been "men with [definite] duties," "men of privilege," "men under the protection of the gods Anu and Bel," and they had possessed "autonomy." Their "privilege," which had fallen into disuse, was returned to its place, and the "tablet of their freedom from taxes" was written anew. To the four winds their way was opened, and with the whole of the lands they might have speech and carry on business. So Babylon became a "city of privileges" and similar rights were granted to Nippur, Borsippa, Sippar, and Der.[1]

We should expect to find many traces of the building activities of Esarhaddon, but such is not the case. In part, this is due to the almost complete reconstruction undergone by Babylon at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar; it is not impossible that the destruction was not so complete as Sennacherib and Esarhaddon would make it to have been. Bricks of Esarhaddon have been indeed found, claiming the renewal of Esagila and of its pavement and its temple tower, Etemenanki. Another relic of the honor he delighted to render Esagila is a bit of the treasure he dedicated in the shrine, a strip of lapis lazuli on which is depicted the well-known design of the god Adad brandishing the thunderbolt.[2]

Shortly after his accession, Esarhaddon sent Ubaru as the new governor of Babylon. He reports:

I entered Babylon, the Babylonians received me, and daily they bless the king: "He it is who will bring back the captivity and the booty of Babylon." And from Sippar to the region of the Bitter River, the chiefs of

[1] Building inscriptions of Esarhaddon, Meissner-Rost, *BA*, III, 189 ff., which see for further references. The "Black Stone" is translated in Harper, *Literature*, p. 88 ff. This group furnishes the most important data for the question of the "imperial free cities," and indeed for the whole problem of the land system. "The Assyrian Land System" was discussed by the writer at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, April 7, 1920, cf. *JAOS*, XL, 219, and at the Madison meeting of the Middle West Branch, February 19, 1921, cf. *JAOS*, XLI., 189.

[2] Koldewey, *Babylon*, p. 221.

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the Chaldaeans bless the king: "He it is who will make Babylon inhabited." All the lands take comfort before the face of the king my lord.[1]

The sad truth was that all the peoples and lands did not rejoice. So far from the Chaldaeans blessing the king in their homes about the Persian Gulf, the very first troubles of the reign, before even the rehabilitation of Babylon could begin, were with Nabu zer kitti lishir, the son of Merodach Baladan. No long time after the battle of Halulina he had submitted to Sennacherib, had been presented with rich clothes and a gold armlet, and had been nominated king of the Sealands. His accession may have had an important part in bringing about the fall of Babylon. No sooner was he back in his ancestral home than he fell under the influence of Hummanhaldash I, who had succeeded Umman menanu in March, 688, after the latter had suffered a year of speechlessness as the result of a stroke of paralysis. When Sennacherib was murdered, he sent no embassy to express grief or his joy at the accession of Esarhaddon, and when the king marched north to save his inheritance, Nabu zer kitti lishir began the siege of Ningal shum iddina, the Assyrian governor of Uruk.[2]

Once safely seated on the throne, Esarhaddon gave orders to the governors of the adjoining provinces to put down the rebel; thus surrounded, there was nothing possible but flight to Elam. Unfortunately for his hopes, the end of October (23 Tashritu) of the preceding year had seen Hummanhaldash succeeded by another of the same name, and, strange to say, the new Hummanhaldash was for the moment pro-Assyrian, or at the least anti-Chaldaean. Nabu zer kitti lishir was at once put to death, and his brother, Naid Marduk, fled from Elam. Another surprise meets us when we see him hospitably received in Assyria and given the command of the Sealands. It was an unexpected reversal of the normal conditions when Elam could kill a son of Merodach Baladan and Assyria grant another the rule of the Chaldaean country.[3]

[1] H. 418; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 335 ff.; Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 308 ff.; Peiser, *MVAG*, IX, 3, 51; *Edinburgh Review*, 1902, pp. 489 f.; Ubaru is also in H. 327 from the *qadu* official. Schmidtke, *Statthalterschaft*, pp. 114 f., follows his theory that Esarhaddon was not in Babylon at the murder, and places it just after his accession.

[2] H. 589, author lost, dated to the accession of Esarhaddon, also refers to these troubles between Zer kitti lishir (*sic*) and Ningal iddina of Uruk.

[3] Cyl. B, II, 1 ff.; supplemented by Cyl. A, II, 32 ff.; E, 1 ff.; Winckler, *Forsch.*, I, 522; date, Bab. Chron., III, 39, in year I and before Ululu-September. This agrees

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It was not alone in South Babylonia that the accession of Esarhaddon was not greeted with joy. When the restoration of Babylon was undertaken, he found the lands of the citizens occupied by the Dakkuri tribe, who had come to consider them theirs by prescription, not to speak of the fact that one of their chieftains had once taken the hands of Bel as king of Babylon. At the first rumor of the new policy they sent a formal protest through their chief, Shamash ibni, though careful to speak of themselves as "the Babylonians, thy loving servants." Esarhaddon's reply was short and caustic: "Word of the king to the Non-Babylonians. I am at peace." Then, with intentional omission of the greeting of peace to the recipients:

> There is a saying current in men's mouths: "When the potter's dog has entered the oven [where, of course, he has no business to be], the potter makes up a fire in it." Behold, you, who are no such thing, have changed yourselves into Babylonians, and words which are no words, which you and your lords have made up, have you presented against my servants. There is another saying current: "The lady of joy is at the door of the judge's house, her speech is of more weight than that of her husband." The tablet of windy words and of howlings which you have written, I have placed in its seals and I send it back to you.[1]

After such an expression of ill will, there was nothing left for the Dakkuri but revolt, and soon they were plundering the fields of the restored citizens of Borsippa and Babylon. Shamash ibni was taken prisoner, and again Esarhaddon vents his ill will in the stinging words he applies to the unfortunate, "a destructive scoundrel who feared not the renown of the lord of lords." The fields they formerly cultivated were restored because Esarhaddon "knew the fear of Bel and Nabu."[2]

The reorganization of Babylonia was vigorously undertaken. In place of Shamash ibni as king of the Dakkuri, Esarhaddon appointed Nabu ushallim, a "son" of that Balasu who was their chief in the days of the fourth Tiglath Pileser. Among the citizens of Borsippa who had been deprived of their estates "during the disturbance and

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with the position in B, and the placing in A, in the middle of the reign, is simply due to geographical order. Winckler, *ZA*, II, Pl. II; *Forsch.*, I, 526, has a fragment which seems to have Ummanigash in error for Naid Marduk.

[1] H. 403; Johnston, *AJSL*, XXII, 242 ff.; Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, p. 52; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 348 ff.; *Edinburgh Review*, 1902, p. 488.

[2] Cyl. B, III, 19 ff.

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revolt of Akkad" was a certain Mushezib Marduk. His estate on the Euphrates, "father's land, bought with money," and held under the special protection of the king, had been taken by the governor and ruler of the Chaldaean land and had been granted to another. Although Esarhaddon had at once promised formal restitution, the course of justice was as slow in Babylonia as it is today, and before the royal seal could be affixed to protect the owner against later claims and to permit its transmission by inheritance, both Esarhaddon and Mushezib Marduk passed away, and it was not until the ninth year of Shamash shum ukin that the heir, Adad ibni, could bring the transaction to completion. In the final settlement Nabu ushallim appears, not as the king of a nomad tribe, but as the responsible official who was in a position to know the truth of the matter under investigation. He deposed under oath that the plot was from of old "father's house," that it was bought with money, and that no governor or ruler had any rights in it. Thereupon the title to the estate was recorded in due form on the boundary stone, placed under the protection of the gods who were symbolized by the signs thereon, and the story was preserved for future generations.[1]

Shortly after his appointment, Nabu ushallim wrote the king about the swamp people. In the days of Shamash ibni half of them fled to the Amuqqani land and stirred up the enemy against Assyria. Let the king now send to Kudur of the Amuqqani that they bring out their camp and make them dwell where the king desires. So long as they dwell in Amuqani their brothers will not be submissive and will not do the king's taskwork.[2]

Ninib ahi iddina was in Nippur at this time, and the king made inquiry of him concerning the artisans, lesser officials, and fugitive serfs who formerly belonged to Shamash ibni and now were with Nabu ushallim. The Dakkuru chief flatly refused to surrender them unless he be shown the king's sealed order, and then only into the hands of a member of the royal body guard. Nor does he approve the presence of Ahesha and Bel ittadin, the agents of Nabu ushallim,

[1] King, *Boundary Stones*, pp. 70 ff.; *CT*, X, 4 ff.; Winckler, *Forsch.*, I, 497.

[2] H. 258; Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 189 f.; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 50 ff.; *Edinburgh Review*, 1902, p. 492; revision by Professor Waterman. No other letters of Nabu ushallim seem to belong to the reign of Esarhaddon.

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who have come with much money in their hands and desire to purchase horses.

He has also a report on Bel iqisha, the son of Bunanu. The royal annals state that he lived twelve double hours distant in the swamps and of his own free will brought to the king his tribute and gifts, among which the scribe particularly notes the large, completely fatted oxen. The reason for this humility appears at the end of the narrative. Taken between two fires, the Gambulu chief had only a choice of masters, and naturally preferred the more distant. So Esarhaddon made confident his heart, strengthened his stronghold of Shapi Bel, recognized the chief and his archers as part of the Assyrian bowmen, that is, he paid them a subvention, and "like a door before Elam shut them up."[1]

Ninib ahi iddina evidently approved the royal action in regard to Bel iqisha as little as he did that with Nabu ushallim. He tells how Bel iqisha went to Babylon, Borsippa, and Dakkuru, and began marrying off his daughters, one to Bel ahi iddina in Babylon, another to the son of Nadinu in Borsippa, and a third to the son of Zakir, the chief shepherd of Nabu. He has also secured from Nabu dini amur the city of Bit Hussani on the Piti canal between Kutu and Az,[2] which bears a hundred measures of dates and a similar amount of grain, though it is royal property belonging to the province of Babylon, and neither the father nor the grandfather of Bel iqisha had possession of it.[3]

The king evidently took him sharply to task for his attitude, and Ninib ahi iddina wrote a very humble letter in reply, heaping up the long list of salutations, in which Nippur and its temple Ekur play a prominent part. The king had demanded why he had not sent back the personal troops loaned him by the king, and he promises to do so. There may be something sinister in his last statement, that Enlil bani has arrived as servant of the king and for the guard of Nippur,[4] for Ninib ahi iddina may be identified with the *qadu* of

[1] Cyl. A, III, 53 ff.; cf. Cyl. E, Winckler, *Forsch.*, I, 526.

[2] For Az, cf. Olmstead, *AJSL*, XXXIII, 309.

[3] H. 336; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 58; *Edinburgh Review*, 1902, pp. 493 f.; Klauber, *Beamt.*, p. 93; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CXL f. Revision by Professor Waterman.

[4] H. 797.

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Nippur, and he, we know, was carried off to Assyria and killed before the first full year of Esarhaddon was ended. In September, the god Kadi and the other deities of Der were returned to their home, as were those of the Babylonian Dur Sharrukin. In the following March, various individuals were decapitated, and at the beginning of the next regnal year the master of the house convened an assembly in Akkad and still another *qadu* was ordered home to meet his fate.[1] About the same time, the king of Dilmun, the island in the Persian Gulf, sent in the tribute neglected since the days of Sargon.[2]

The failure of Esarhaddon in his first attempt against Egypt afforded an opportunity to the Elamites which Hummanhaldash was not slow to seize. He fell upon Sippar and made a great killing there, so that the ceremonial procession of the god Shamash could not move out that year.[3] Kudur, the Dakurru official who was responsible, had already reported that while he was in the enemy land, the Puqudu in a raid had destroyed the loyal Amuqqani, slaying the men, ravishing the women, and he has heard that they have marched against Zaba, the guard. Thereupon he sent troops to his aid, and the captain Nabu shar usur seized them when he reached the Royal Canal. The king should know that Amuqqani is destroyed, that the Puqudu dwell in their land, and that the troops with him have not been ordered out. The Puqudu are the aggressors, and "we abhor the sin of the land."[4]

After the capture of Sippar, when the king was encamped on the border of Egypt, an eclipse took place in July. None of his soldiers cared for the welfare of Assyria; right and left it smote. Now his messenger is with him, let the king question them. Kudur has performed the incantation for the eclipse and sends a messenger to the king, asking for many more. Nabu shum lishir, brother's son of Zakirru, the magician of the bathhouse, has cleansed the temple "Palace of the Mountain," and the binding and loosing for

[1] Bab. Chron., III, 43 ff.

[2] Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 19 ff.

[3] Bab. Chron., IV, 9 f.

[4] H. 275; S. A. Smith, *PSBA*, IX, 247; Delitzsch, *BA*, I, 242 ff.; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 53; *Edinburgh Review*, 1902, 491 ff.; Johns, *Laws*, 357 f. Revision by Professor Waterman.

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the governor, Bel etir. Has not the king ordered him in the second year to come to see his face?[1] Kudur is evidently attempting to defend himself against responsibility for a mutiny of his soldiers which he attributed to a fear causing eclipse.

The *qadu* of Nippur, perhaps Shum iddina,[2] had also the age-long excuse: "The king knows that I am exceedingly ill; if I were not ill, had I not been ill, I would have come myself to greet the king." In his place he has sent his brother Bel usatu and ten well-born citizens of Nippur. "The king knows that all lands hate us because of Assyria and we dare not set our feet in any of the lands where we might go. They would kill us, saying: 'Why have you taken the yoke of Assyria?'" They have completely closed the city gates and do not go out, for they keep the watch of the king. The Messenger and the chiefs whom the king has sent have seen everything, let them make report to the king. "Let not the king surrender us to the hands of anyone else." Then he turns to the troubles of the people committed to his care. There is no spring water for they are dying of thirst. The king's father had given them permission to extend the Baniti canal to Nippur, and had promised that no prince should cut them off from it. Let the king send to Ubaru, the governor of Babylon, who has charge of the canal. Otherwise, all the lands will say: "The men of Nippur, who have taken the yoke of Assyria, must in their thirst look to the skies for rain."[3]

With the *musharkis* officials, the *qadu* reports that the Sealanders have sent a letter which they have read and now forward. Bariki ili of Larak has fled from his prison there; in an assembly of the people he has set forth what he claims to be the command of the king, and so they forward him too to the king for investigation.[4] An anonymous writer reports that the men of Bariki ili, fifty-three in number,

[1] H. 276; S. A. Smith, *PSBA*, X, 306; Jensen, *KB*, II, 158; Weissbach, *ZDMG*, LV, 213 ff.; Behrens, *Briefe*, p. 60, n. 2; p. 97, n. 6. Revision by Professor Waterman.

[2] So Bab. Chron., IV, 14; perhaps the Shum iddina, son of Gahal and father of Shuma, H. 282.

[3] H. 327; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 66 ff.; *Edinburgh Review*, 1902, p. 489; Klauber, *Beamt.*, pp. 58, 95; Ylvisaker, *Gram.*, p. 19. Revision by Professor Waterman.

[4] H. 344; McKnight, *Letters*, p. 6; Klauber, *Beamt.*, p. 53; Van Gelderen, *BA*, IV, 544 f.

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of whom the king has sent, have been taken by Nabu shallim, the Lapiai, and have been given to Umadi, the guard of the crown prince.[1]

Probably the last letter sent by the *qadu* reports that when the master of ceremonies and the minor officials went down to the Chaldaeans,[2] the brothers of the Elamite king begged him to go to their aid, but he refused, fearing to violate his oaths. . . . . Ashur, son of Nabu ahi usur, has entered Nippur; he has laid hands upon Sippar; he has seized the nobles of Nippur. When the *qadu* spoke to him, he mocked him in his native city and cast him into prison, in the sight of his own people. Pirki also came into the city at the special request of the men of Nippur. Let the king send to investigate the case of the city and force the son of Nabu ahi usur to return to Nippur as much as he has carried off.[3]

His news was indeed true. Humbahaldash "died in his palace without being sick," and his place was taken by the pro-Assyrian Urtaku.[4] The news seemed too good to be true, and Esarhaddon cannily took the precaution of inquiring of Shamash whether Urtaku was to be trusted.[5] When the god answered in the affirmative, Esarhaddon sent a letter wishing peace for his brother Urtaku, his sons and daughters, his nobles and his land, and informing this newly found brother that he had accomplished all the gods had ordered him.[6] Eloquent testimony to the change which had taken place in international relations was the return of Ishtar and the other gods from their exile in Elam. But neither Shum iddina nor Kudur rejoiced at their return. Their enemies, Nabu ushallim and Bel iqisha had the ear of the king, and Kudur and Shum iddina were brought to Assyria for punishment.[7]

[1] H. 600; Klauber, *Beamt.*, p. 108; the author's name ends in . . . . *an-ni*.

[2] Text *amel Kal-ki*, but it must be an error for *Kal-di*.

[3] H. 328; Delattre, *PSBA*, XXIII, 52; Klauber, *Beamt.*, pp. 27 f. Revision by Professor Waterman.

[4] Bab. Chron., IV, 11 ff.

[5] Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 76.

[6] H. 918; Winckler, *Texte*, 24; Weissbach, *BA*, IV, 173; Johns, *Laws*, p. 360, with reference to "G. Sm., p. 24," an error I have not been able to right; Streck, *Assurbanipal*, C, CIII, CVII, CCCXII.

[7] Bab. Chron., IV, 14 ff. Though his five-year reign would bring the death of Humbahaldash only to October, 676, if taken literally, it is clear that the events are to be dated in the sixth year of Esarhaddon, and can come only after March, 675. Note how

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Like that of his father, the reign of Esarhaddon is dominated by his Babylonian policy. Like his predecessor, he took the title "King of Shumer and Akkad," but never "King of Babylon," contenting himself with that of *shakannakku*. The lists, however, count him as full king of Babylon all his reign, and at Babylon itself business documents were dated by his regnal years.[1] It was little enough recognition of the good done by Esarhaddon for Babylon and of harm for Assyria.[2]

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carefully the Bab. Chron. inserts the Egyptian expedition between the two groups of facts regarding Babylonia. Maspero, *Hist.*, III, 367, n. 2, does not accept this order and says that the Chronicler gives his data "*pêle-mêle*," but this is not true, the Chronicler is almost a fanatic for exact chronology. In Kislimu, December, of the next year, Bab. Chron. states that the booty of Shupria was carried to Uruk, which points to the residence of the king there, perhaps the occasion of his building operations, see above. Cf. also reference to booty in connection with Uruk(?), K. 8544, Winckler, *Forsch.*, I, 533.

[1] Cf. Boscawen, *TSBA*, VI, 9.

[2] Winckler, *Forsch.*, II, 186 ff., finds in a group of Babylonian letters written to the mother of the king proof that the mother of Esarhaddon was a Babylonian and even that she ruled Babylon as regent after the destruction of the city by Sennacherib. But the writers are all of the time of Ashur bani apal, cf. the article following for their use.

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# *SHÛT-ABNI*, "THOSE OF STONE"

By D. D. Luckenbill
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Gilgamesh, seeking the "mouth of the rivers," had crossed the lion-infested desert, had reached the mountain Mashu guarded by scorpion men, one of whom told him of the tunnel twenty-four hours long which led through this mountain toward the sea of the setting sun, had made this dark journey, and was now in the pleasant garden by the seaside, over which presided the goddess Siduri-sabîtu.

> The way to Ut-napishtim? There is no path across the sea, no one but Shamash [the sun] is able to cross it. Deep are the waters of death. . . . . What could you do when you reached the waters of death? But, Gilgamesh, there is Ur-shanabi, the boatman of Ut-napishtim, with whom are "those of stone," . . . . cross over with him, if possible [*Gilgamesh Epic*, X, Col. II, 15 f.].

Gilgamesh sets out to find this boatman and comes upon his vessel before meeting him. For some reason, unknown to us (the text is badly broken), he smashes "those of stone." Ur-shanabi now appears and is willing to take Gilgamesh along with him to Ut-napishtim, but the broken "those of stone" raise difficulties. Gilgamesh is sent into the forest to cut down some poles (*parisi*), each sixty cubits in length. Ur-shanabi and Gilgamesh now board the vessel and set sail. A journey of a month and fifteen days brings them toward the end of the trip, and Ur-shanabi is on the lookout. Three more days and they are in the dangerous waters of death (so I interpret X, Col. III, end). Gilgamesh is ordered to take one of the poles he had cut, but to be careful that none of the waters of death touched his hands. Pole after pole is seized by Gilgamesh until a hundred and twenty are used up. The mast (better, perhaps, "yard," see below) is lowered as they near the shore. Ut-napishtim sees the ship drawing up, and says "Why are 'those of stone' broken, and why does one who does not belong there, ride in the ship?"



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We pass over the meeting of Un-napishtim and Gilgamesh, as well as the former's account of the deluge and the reasons for his being among the immortals.

Gilgamesh fails in the test of warding off sleep, which is death, and must return to Uruk. At the request of his wife, Ut-napishtim gives Gilgamesh, among other things, a garment which will constantly renew itself until he has ended his journey home. Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi now board the boat once more and set out. Again at the request of Ut-napishtim's wife, they are called back. "Gilgamesh lifted up the pole [*parisa*], and brought the ship to shore" (XI, 277 f.). He is told where to find the plant which will give perpetual youth, dives down to the *apsû* for it, and the return journey is resumed and brought to an end.

What are "those of stone"? Jensen, in *KB*, VI, 1, 473, thought of chests or other containers of stones, perhaps intended for ballast. Gressmann, in *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, objects to this, since the broken *šût-abni* were replaced by the poles Gilgamesh was ordered to cut in the forest. So far, so good. But I find difficulty in following Gressmann any farther. The stone chests (*Steinkiste*), so he translates *šût-abni*, served as a bridge.

> There was no landing stage, and there must be none, since no one was to cross to the other side [of the waters of death]. Swimming is impossible, for contact with the water brings death. Even the ship cannot pass through, since the raging stream "is swifter than lightning and faster." Ur-shanabi is in the habit of sinking wooden chests loaded with heavy stones, just as Alexander, at a later date, crossed the "Sandstream," which flows with water three days, and then three days with sand. This bridge has the advantage that after its use it would be removed by the stream itself and intruders would be kept out. Now that the stone chests had been smashed by Gilgamesh, there was nothing to do but build a suspension-bridge [*Hängebrücke*]: the hundred and twenty poles [*Stangen*], each sixty cubits in length, were bound together and were to serve as a landing bridge. Suddenly it is realized that the poles—together some 3,600 meters long—will not reach; the waters are wider than the boatman had estimated. Is all their effort to be of no avail, must Gilgamesh turn back? A moment of greatest tension! When their first fright is overcome, Gilgamesh and the boatman pull off their garments and take down the mast. Now the bridge is long enough, and the two cross the dangerous waters of death over the narrow suspension-

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bridge, and reach their destination, the confluence of the streams, where dwells Ut-napishtim, the far-away.[1]

Now, I believe in allowing poets all the poetic license they want. I admit that a hero like Gilgamesh, who was "two-thirds god and one-third man," must have performed many wonderful deeds. But a suspension-bridge, made by tying together a hundred and twenty tree-trunks, each sixty cubits long (total some 3,600 meters) and the ship's mast (say another sixty cubits long), and pushing them out from the side of a ship to the shore—well, my imagination is not equal to the task. Honestly, isn't Gressmann "spoofing" us?

But let us be serious. That there is absolutely nothing to this suspension-bridge explanation seems to me to follow from the account of the departure of Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi after their stay with Ut-napishtim.

Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi boarded the ship, the ship they cast [upon the raging flood], and sailed away;
"Gilgamesh has gone, he has worn himself out and plagued himself (?),
What will you give him that he may return to his land?"
And he lifted up the pole(?), namely Gilgamesh
(and) brought the ship near the shore [XI, 272–78. I have purposely quoted the Ungnad-Gressmann translation].

The first two lines of this passage are identical with the lines describing the *start* of Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi from Siduri-sabîtu's garden for the confluence of the streams where Ut-napishtim dwells (X, 148–49). Not only had the ship gone right up to Ut-napishtim's shore, but it starts out from there and returns again.[2]

It seems to me that the problem must be attacked in another way: that the one way to attack it is by asking the question "what was there about an ancient ship that was made of stone?" And the answer is, the anchors.

No doubt my argument would be more convincing to some if I now quoted extensively from the Greek and Latin. But I shall content myself with a few quotations from modern works. First

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 137 f.

[2] Certainly within hailing distance, for Ut-napishtim tells Gilgamesh how and where to find the plant which brings perpetual youth.

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from the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Art., "Anchor."

The most ancient anchors consisted of large stones, baskets full of stones, sacks filled with sand, or logs of wood loaded with lead. Of this kind were the anchors of the ancient Greeks, which, according to Apollonius Rhodius and Stephen of Byzantium, were formed of stone; and Athenaeus states that they were sometimes made of wood. Such anchors held the vessel merely by their weight and by the friction along the bottom. . . . . Every ship had several anchors; the largest, corresponding to our sheet anchor, was only used in extreme danger, and was hence peculiarly termed *ἱερά* or *sacra*, whence the proverb *sacram anchoram solvere*, as flying to the last refuge.

And such anchors have survived to our own day and in the very region about which the ancient legends of Ut-napishtim and "paradise" clustered, namely the Bahrein Islands in the Persian Gulf.

The sea between Manameh and Moharek is alive with strange craft: the *baghalow* of the Persian Gulf, with long prow decorated with shells, and huge grip, which makes it a boat easily turned in a squall; . . . . many of them have curious shaped stone anchors, and water-casks of uniform and doubtless old-world shape. (J. Theodore Bent, "The Bahrein Islands, in the Persian Gulf [*Proc. Royal Geographical Society*, XII (1890), 4]).[1]

It is not my wish to create the impression that my translation of *šût-abni* by "anchors" will at once clear up all the obscurities in the

[1] My attention was called to this article by Rev. John Van Ess, American missionary at Basra, the other winter. While this article is before us, I may perhaps be permitted to refer to another episode in the Gilgamesh epic which may receive some light from a natural phenomenon described in the same article. I mean the episode in X, 287 *f.*, where Gilgamesh ties heavy stones to his feet and is enabled thereby to dive down through the water (salt water) to the *apsû* below where he finds the plant named "the old man shall become young again." Scholars have been translating *apsû* by "fresh-water ocean" (*Süsswasserozean*) of late and, I believe, justifiably. I do not care to go into the pros and cons here. However, if the *apsû* did represent an "Okeanos" of fresh water, lying around, under and above the earth, one of the natural phenomena which might have lead to the belief that fresh water underlies the salt water of the sea, may have been the sub-marine springs which Bent described (p. 7). "The town of Moharek gets its water supply from a curious source, springing up from under the sea. At high tide there is about a fathom of salt water over the spring, and water is brought up either by divers who go down with skins, or by pushing a hollow bamboo down into it. At low tide there is very little water over it, and women with large amphorae and goat skins, which look very real and lifelike though headless, wade out and fetch whatever water they require. The source is called Bir Mahab, and there are several of a similar nature on the coast around, the Kaseifah spring and others." Bent then tells of the legend connected with these springs, and goes on: "It is a curious fact that Arados, the Phoenician town on the Mediterranean, was supplied by a similar submarine source."

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description of the voyage of Gilgamesh to the mouth of the rivers and back again. To say that my knowledge of things nautical is rudimentary would be putting it mildly. But there are things one can see without being a sailor.

It seems to be certain that we must assume, with Gressmann, that the poles cut by Gilgamesh were used as substitutes for the broken *šût-abni*. But it seems equally certain that a (not "the") hundred and twenty poles were used one after the other to keep the ship in its course through some Babylonian Scylla and Charybdis, or from running upon the rocks or sandbars. Gressmann assumed that one hundred and twenty was the total number of poles taken on board the vessel. But note that there is at least *one* pole left when Gilgamesh and Ur-shanabi start back, and with this pole Gilgamesh brings the departing ship back to shore once more (XI, 277 f.). Thus "the moment of tension" caused by the realization that the hundred and twenty poles will not make a suspension bridge long enough to reach from the ship to the shore, turns out to be nothing but another figment of the imagination. And the mast (I should prefer the translation "yard," for *karâ*[1]) was taken down, not to piece out a landing bridge, but because they were almost up to the shore.

But how poles, used to keep a vessel in its course, could be a substitute for stone anchors remains to be considered. As said above, my nautical knowledge is embryonic, and I must confess that I have no answer to the question. One thinks of the use of the anchor in the process of "warping" a vessel. It seems possible that dragging stone anchors might have been used to keep a vessel in control. Herodotus, II, 96, speaking of the "vessels used in Egypt for the transport of merchandise," says:

These boats cannot make way against the current unless there is a brisk breeze; they are, therefore, towed up stream from the shore: down stream they are managed as follows. There is a raft belonging to each, made of the

[1] The translation "mast" for *karâ* in X, Col. IV, 11, is conjectural. So is the restoration of the verb in this sentence to *u-šak-*[*ki-ma*], "he lifted up." And Gressmann's objection that the sails but not the mast would be taken down, furled, is well taken. But if we translate "yard" the objection has no force, and "putting up" the yard would make perfectly good sense.

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wood of the tamarisk, fastened together with a wattling of reeds; and also a stone bored through the middle about two talents in weight. The raft is fastened to the vessel by a rope, and allowed to float down the stream in front, while the stone is attached by another rope astern [Rawlinson's footnote reads: A similar practice prevails to this day on the Euphrates]. The result is, that the raft, hurried forward by the current, goes rapidly down the river, and drags the "baris" (for so they call this sort of boat) after it; while the stone, which is pulled along in the wake of the vessel, and lies deep in the water, keeps the boat straight.[1]

[1] I asked William F. Edgerton, Fellow in the department, who is studying ancient Egyptian boats, whether these had stone anchors, and he referred me to Ernst Assmann's discussion of this point in Borchardt's *Das Grabdenkmal Śa³ḥu-reᶜ*, II, 153 f. Assmann feels sure that certain round objects which are part of the boats depicted on the walls of the Sahure temple are anchors. Borchardt's explanation of these objects does not seem at all convincing. If Assmann is right, and I believe he is, stone anchors on Egyptian vessels go back at least as far as about 2750 B.C. I have not been able to find anchors of any sort on the boats pictured in the Assyrian sculptures, neither do I recall having seen anything on the Euphrates or Tigris to substantiate the statement of Rawlinson in the above-mentioned footnote. I have no doubt that he is right. Ezekiel, chapter 27, gives a detailed description of the ships of Tyre, but mentions no anchors. This does not prove that they had none, any more than does their absence in the Assyrian sculptures.

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# A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE SONG OF SONGS

By Dr. Joshua Bloch
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The fact that no ancient document handed down in manuscript is perfectly free from error has long been known, and that the Bible forms no exception to the rule is now generally admitted. It naturally follows that the Bible no less than other ancient documents is the object of textual criticism. The Old Testament, however, enjoys a peculiarity of its own—a peculiarity which lies in the fact that the material for textual criticism is furnished by the ancient versions rather than ancient manuscripts. The ancient versions are of great weight as documents by the aid of which modern scholarship is enabled to reconstruct the original text of the Bible where the transmitted text is faulty, or to defend it where it is sound. In the words of Geiger, "Auffassung und Feststellung des Bibeltextes muss sich am Schärfsten in den *Uebersetzungen* der verschiedenen Zeiten ausprägen."[1]

The object of the present study is to examine a part of one of these versions and determine the nature and value of its testimony. The version is the Syriac translation of the Old Testament commonly called the Peshitta.[2] It is indeed remarkable that to none of the ancient versions of the Bible has been paid as little attention as to the Syriac, which, owing to its great antiquity, is one of the most valuable documents in ascertaining the original text of the Bible. In fact, in point of age, the Peshitta takes precedence of every other oriental version; and such has been the high esteem in which it has been held by men of great eminence. There are problems presented by the Peshitta that still remain partly unsolved; particularly those

[1] *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, etc., p. 160.

[2] Peshitta is the pronunciation according to the "Nestorian" system, which preserves the older sounds of the vowels, as in *Talitha* and *Maranatha*. The Monophysites and Maronites say *Pĕshîṭô*. The word is a feminine adjective in the "definite" state, agreeing with *mappaḳtâ*, i.e., "edition," but Bar Hebraeus sometimes used it by itself in the "absolute" feminine, hence the spelling *Peshito*. The form *Peschito* is merely an adaptation to German orthography.



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dealing with the question of the origin and authorship of that work. Almost at the outset of the study of the Peshitta one finds himself confronted by difficulties which can only be met by a study of the general purpose and character of that work, the limitations by which the translators were beset, and the principles which guided them in the performance of their task. The student of the Peshitta must begin by placing before his mind the conditions under which it was produced, and the relation of the original work to our present texts, Hebrew, Greek, and Syriac.

Strictly speaking, the Peshitta is not a single version,[1] but a series of versions produced at various times and by translators whose ideals were not altogether alike. Internal evidence of this fact may be found in the varying standards of excellence which appear in different books or groups of books.[2] The student must also endeavor to realize the condition of the Hebrew text which lay before the translators of the Peshitta. Although the text of the Hebrew Bible has undergone no material changes since the beginning of the second century C.E., the Peshitta nevertheless presents a version of an earlier text which often differed materially from the text of the printed Hebrew Bible and of all existing Hebrew manuscripts. All scholars who have perused the Peshitta of the Old Testament have arrived at the conclusion that it is a direct translation from the Hebrew, though not always corresponding exactly with the Masoretic text of our day. What text the translators may have used we can only conjecture. It differs here and there from our own, though the more important deviations are comparatively few. While one can safely assume that the Peshitta was executed entirely from the Hebrew, one must not overlook the fact that it underwent later revision which brought it more into conformity with the LXX—this to a greater degree in some books than in others.[3] Whatever the case be, the Peshitta as a translation from the Hebrew, and

[1] Heller, *Untersuchungen über die Peschitta*, etc., p. 37, claims that the Peshitta is the work of one author, though he admits the possibility of another author being responsible for Chronicles, because it consistently avoids anthropomorphic expressions. Cf. also Nöldeke, *Alttestamentliche Litteratur*, p. 264.

[2] See my article "The Authorship of the Peshitta" in *AJSL*, XXXV (July, 1919), pp. 215–22.

[3] See my article on "The Influence of the Greek Bible on the Peshitta," *AJSL*, XXXVI (January, 1920), pp. 161–66.

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evidently executed by able hands, may be regarded as a valuable instrument in ascertaining the state of the original text of the Old Testament at a very early period.[1]

The critical and exegetical value of the Peshitta is now almost universally recognized. The study of its text, therefore, deserves the attention of scholars. Indeed, as early as 1832 Roediger[2] pointed out the need of an analytical examination of the text of the Peshitta, as preparatory to an exhaustive treatment of the various problems it presents. Four decades later Baethgen[3] stated explicitly that

der einzige Weg, um zu einem selbständigen Urteil und zu wenn auch nur relativer Klarheit zu kommen, ist demnach der, die einzelnen Bücher genau auf ihre Anlage, ihr Verhältnis zu unserm hebräischen Text und den übrigen alten Uebersetzungen, sowie auf etwaige Eigentümlichkeiten in der Manier des Uebertragens zu untersuchen und aus diesen Einzeluntersuchungen ein Gesamtresultat zu ziehen.

This task was subsequently undertaken by various students who have produced a series of studies dealing with the text of a large number of the books[4] of the Syriac Bible—all with but a few exceptions are inadequately done.

In the following pages it is proposed to present a study of the Syriac text of the Song of Songs in the light of the Masoretic text and the ancient primary versions of the Bible. The textual notes resolve themselves to a storehouse of observations concerning the

[1] The favorable judgment which the Peshitta received at the hands of modern scholars was evidently not shared by the ancient students of the Bible. We find that for various reasons the use of the LXX or the Syro-Hexaplaric version was preferred by such Syrians as Theodore of Mopsuestia and Bar Hebraeus. Cf. Theodorus Mopsuest. in Mai, *Nov. Patrum biblioth.*, VII, 271 on Hab. 2:11: τινὲς δὲ ἔφασαν τὸν σύρον πάσσαλον λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἀνόητον εἰη ἀφέντας τῆς ἑβραΐδος τὴν φωνὴν καθ' ἣν ὁ προφήτης ἐφθέγξατο . . . . σύρῳ προσέχειν μεταβαβληκότι τὴν ἑβραίων εἰς τὴν σύρων, εἶτα πολλάκις τὸ πταῖσμα τὸ οἰκεῖον νόμον βουληθέντι δεῖναι φωνῆς ὃς δοκεῖ μοι μὴ συνεὶς ὅ τι ποτὲ λέγει τὸν κάνδαρον πάνυ γε εἰωθότα ἐμφωλεύειν τοῖς τοίχοις τὸ πάσσαλος τεθεικέναι, ἵνα δοκῇ τινα τὸ λεγομένον ἀκολουθίαν. *Ibid.*, p. 253 on Zeph. 3:2: περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ἀσφάλθαι τὸν δὲ εἰς τὴν σύρων γλῶτταν ἁρμηνευκότα τὴν γραφὴν πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἂν νομισθῆναι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι, εἰρηται πρόσθεν ἡμῖν ἀρκούντως. Bar Hebraeus attacked the Peshitta on linguistic grounds; e.g., Ps. 4:5 *S* has ܐܬܪܥܫܘ instead of ܐܬܪܓܙܘ which would be expected (cf. Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, p. 106). He calls it ܕܚܟ ܐܡܠ and wrote a treatise in which he endeavored to show "that the translation of LXX is more correct than the Peshitta." Cf. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, II, 279.

[2] *Hallesche Literaturzeitung*, 1832, 4, and in his article "Peschito" in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, XVIII, col. 292*a* ff.

[3] *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschitta* (Kiel, 1878), p. 6.

[4] See *Bibliography of the Peshitta Old Testament.*

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various aspects of the Peshitta—a help for the textual criticism of the Bible. All the editions of the Syriac text of this book have been continuously consulted and the variations indicated. It goes without saying that most of the important commentaries have been utilized with admiration and gratitude.

The Syriac text of the Song of Songs has been printed six times. The *editio princeps* is that in the Paris Polyglot (1629–45) reproduced without any improvements in the London Polyglot (1659). Lee in his edition of the Peshitta (1823) reprinted it again, omitting the vowels, introducing one better reading and retaining most of the misprints of the former editions. The text of the Paris Polyglot contains a misprint (8:5) corrected in the London Polyglot, which, on the other hand, allowed three new ones to creep in (1:5; 2:8; and 8:9). Lee, in his edition, reproduced these misprints and allowed a new one to slip in (4:1) while he corrected the one in 1:5. The Urmia edition of 1852 is a reproduction of Lee's text in Nestorian characters with Nestorian vowels and with improved spellings.[1] While some of Lee's misprints are corrected, no variation from it, unless supported by other evidence, can safely be considered a variant reading. Dr. Adolf Hübsch's text, printed in 1886 in his publication *Die fünf Megilloth nebst dem syrischen Thargum genannt "Peschito,"* is a mere reprint of the text of the Polyglots in Hebrew characters and vowels. Thus, these five editions are, but for Lee's one improvement, reducible to one edition; so that the *editio princeps* practically represents the present state of the printed text.[2] The sixth issue published in Mosul in 1887 seems to have no independent value whatever. It differs from the Urmia edition in sixteen places, seven of which are mere orthographic differences. In these seven places the Mosul edition is perhaps better than that of Urmia. Another case involves merely a difference in punctuation; while two other readings are of no significance whatever. In the remaining six cases the readings of the Mosul text are supported by MSS, LXX, and Vulgate, which point to the probability of the editors having

[1] See Barnes, *Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles*, etc., p. xv.

[2] Cf. my article "The Printed Texts of the Peshitta Old Testament" in *AJSL*, XXXVII (January, 1921), pp. 136–44.

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corrected the text. In all these cases, with but one exception (6:8), the Mosul edition has a very good reading. That this edition was not expressly altered to make it agree with the Vulgate can be seen from the fact that the variant in the text of the Songs of Songs 8:13 differs in its sentence arrangement from that of the Vulgate.

While ample use was made of the ancient versions, no comparison was made between the Syriac text of the Song of Songs and the Targum. Such a comparison must be excluded because of the distance in age. The Peshitta could not have been influenced by the Targum, the date of the latter surely being several centuries later, for it mentions the Mohammedans (1:7), the Mishna, and the Talmud (1:2; 5:10).[1] Besides, the Targum and the Peshitta differ entirely in their character. The Peshitta is a literal version of the Hebrew text, while the Targum is a Midrash-like commentary. Following the example of Barnes[2] and Baumann,[3] no use was made of the Arabic version or of patristic quotations. The Arabic version promises some help, but, as was already pointed out by Barnes,[4] "it must be edited before it can be used." Patristic quotations, on the contrary, are unpromising. Aphraates and Ephraim, moreover, can be used for the most part in an uncritical edition only. The five quotations found in Bar Hebraeus and the half-passage in Aphraates[5] are worthless for textual criticism[6] while the writings of Philoxenus contain no quotation from the Song of Songs. The biblical quotations in the writings of the church fathers are useful as evidence of the characteristics of the translations which they employed; but as a rule they did not aim at strict accuracy of reference so that their citations cannot always have the authority to overrule the verdict of the ancient codices.[7] Much material, interesting both in itself and in connection with the present subject, has been simply referred to, or relegated to a footnote, because it is of a kind accessible to students.

[1] See Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden* (2d ed.), p. 68.
[2] Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. viii.
[3] Baumann, *Die Verwendbarkeit der Pešita zum Buche Ijob, etc.*, p. 329.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. viii. [5] *Dem. vi. de monachis* 19 (ed. Graffin), I, col. 309.
[6] Cf. S. Euringer, in *Biblische Studien*, VI, p. 125.
[7] Cf. Gwilliam, in *Studia Biblica*, III, p. 66.

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## NOTES ON THE SYRIAC TEXT OF CANTICLES

### CHAPTER I

1. The Hebrew text of Canticles has no title, the superscription (1:1) having been added at a later date. This is agreed by all commentators on the ground of the demonstrative pronoun made use of, which differs from that used throughout the book. (See Budde, *Hohelied*, p. xxi.) Very likely ܣ did not have it in his Hebrew text and hence his own superscription. ܣ begins his version of Canticles with the following title-verse: ܣܦܪ ܕܫܝܪ ܫܝܪܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܫܠܡܘܗ ܗܘ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܫܠܡܘܗ = ספר הנקרא עבריית שיר השירים והוא תשבחת התשבחות. This passage is quoted by Bar Hebraeus from an "old" manuscript, according to his own testimony. (See Rahlfs, *Abulfarag*, etc., p. 21, and cf. Gottsberger, *Barhebraeus*, p. 85.)

2. The word דדיך is translated in ܣ as ܪܚܡܝܟ = רחמך, while in verse 4 the same word is translated by ܐܚܒܬܟ = אהבתך, and in 4:10 דדיך is rendered as ܬܕܝܟ = שדיך.

3. לריח שמניך טובים: ܣ renders this phrase slavishly, though not in accordance with good usage of the Syriac language, by ܠܪܝܚ ܫܡܢܝܟ ܕܛܒܝܢ = לריח שמניך הטובים. LXX has *καὶ ὀσμὴ μύρων σου ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ* (Codex C omits *τὰ*) *ἀρώματα* = וריח שמניך מכל בשמים. So also Vulgate, probably inserted from 4:10.—For שמניך ܣ has ܒܫܡܝܟ = בְּשָׂמֶיךָ (cf. LXX, *μυρών*, and Vulgate, *unguentis*) which by *licentia translationis* was evidently caused by its connection with ריח.—שמן תורק is well rendered in ܣ by ܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܬܕܪ. As to the difficulty of properly translating the word תורק see Cannon, *The Song of Songs*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 134.[1] ܣ dodges the difficulty by translating it ܕܡܬܕܪ = המור.—Instead of אהבוך, ܣ must have read אֲהֲבֻנוּךָ, since he uses ܐܚܒܘܢ instead of ܐܚܒܬ.

4. While משכני is rendered in LXX by *εἵλκυσάν σε* as if it were משכוך, it is translated in ܣ by ܡܫܟ; cf. Onkelos on Gen. 37:28 and Abboth I, 13.—הביאני: ܣ ܐܝܬܝܢܝ = הֲבִיאֵנִי, as if the Hebrew represented an imperative form, is adopted by Budde, Dalman, and others as better reading. It is a better parallel to verse than in LXX and MT. For חדריו ܣ has ܟܣܝܢܘܗܝ from *κοιτών* = חַדְרֵךְ which

[1] Fürst in his אוצר לשון הקדש (Leipzig, 1840) describes תורק as "n. pr. loci fertilis et oleo praestanti clari," an explanation already given by Ibn Esra, who, however, rejects it, explaining it as a Hophal from רוק = "empty."

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is undoubtedly a better reading, not only because of the suffix of the second person, but also because of the singular which is likewise the reading of LXX, *τὸ ταμεῖον*. Compare Y. Sanh. XI, and 30*c* Y. Kethub. IV, 28*d* = "bedchamber."—ונשמחה ℵ translates ܒܝܬ ܡܫܬܝܐ, while in other places the word ܒܝܬ ܣܥܘܕܐ is used for this expression.[1]—For the Syriac rendering of דדיך, cf. above, verse 2.—מישרים אהבוך being dependent on נזכירה, ℵ read instead וּמִן יְשָׁרִים אֲהַבְתְּךָ = ܘܡܢ ܫܘܝܐ ܪܚܡܬܟ. Hence the closing part of the verse receives the epicurean meaning of נזכירה דדך מיין וממישרים אהבוך; cf. Ibn Ezra *ad. loc.*

5. שחורה אני ונאוה וכו׳ ℵ renders by ܘܢ ܫܚܝܪ ܘܢ ܣܝܡ ܘܢ ܚܣܝܢ. Ishodadh (Diettrich, p. xix) after ܘܢ ܚܣܝܢ inserts the word ܟܡ. Owing to the lack of diminutives in the Syriac language in the time of ℵ,[2] the translator was not in a position to give an exact rendering of שחרחרת, and therefore evidently used ܚܣܝܢ = שהורה.[3]

6. שׁשׁזפתני: This word is used (Job 20:9; 28:7) in the sense of "a fixed gaze," in the latter passage of a bird of prey. Another proposed meaning connects the word with שׁזף (Gen. 41:23) in the sense of "burned," "scorched." Aquila, *συνέκαυσε*; Theodotion, *περιέφρυξε*. The rendering of ℵ ܘܚܣܟܢܢܝ = שהשחירני, which is confirmed by Vulgate *decoloravit* in the sense of "blackened," "browned," or "tanned," is accepted by many modern commentators, such as Ginsburg, Rothstein, Harper, Oettli, and others.—נחרו, ℵ ܢܬܚܡܘ = נִלְחֲמוּ.[4] This Syriac word is frequently met with in rabbinic literature in the sense of fighting, cf. Y. Peah IV, 18*b*, top, שנים שהיו מתכתשין וכו׳. Sifre Deut. 37, מלכיות מתכתשות וכ״ו ד״, Hulin 7*b*, הוה קא מכתש ביה טובא. Likewise LXX, Theodotion, and Symmachus (*δι*)*εμαχέσαντο*. They evidently took it as a Niphal from חרה instead of נחר.—For נטרה את הכרמים ℵ correctly uses ܢܛܪ ܟܪܡ = נָטְרָה כְרָמִים.—Instead of כרמי ℵ read וכרמי.

[1] In both places where נגילה ונשמחה occurs, Isa. 25:9 and Ps. (117) 118:24, ℵ translates it by ܒܝܬ ܣܥܘܕܐ, while the phrase גיל יגיל in Prov. 23:24 ℵ renders by ܚܕܐ ܒܝܬ ܣܥܘܕܐ. See Pinkus, *ZATW*, 1894, p. 200. ואמר רזי לי רזי לי in Isa. 24:16 may perhaps be explained as derived from the Syriac word meaning joy.

[2] See Hoffmann, *The Principles of Syriac Grammar* (tr. by B. H. Cowper, London, 1858), sec. 147, p. 69; but cf. Nöldeke, *Comp. Syr. Gram.* (London, 1904), p. 80.

[3] The words אדמדם, ירקרק, etc., in Lev. 13 receive similar treatment.

[4] But cf. ℵ at Isa. 41:11; 45:24 where the same word occurs.

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7. הַגִּידָה, 𝔖 ܒܫܐܠ=הגידו—שאהבה, 𝔖 ܘܫܐܠ=ואיכה—שלמה=אשר למה; LXX, *μή ποτε*; Vulgate, *ne*. Undoubtedly an Aramaic form. 𝔖 therefore ܠܡܐ;[1] cf. Ezra 7:23, where די־למה is equivalent to די־לא in Dan. 21:13.[2]—For כעטיה, which is very unsuitable and gives a very poor sense, the reading of 𝔖 ܐܘ ܟܬܥܝܐ=כְּתֹעֶיָה, or better כְּטֹעֶיָה (cf. Gen. 37:15; Exod. 23:4; Prov. 21:16), seems to be better and is confirmed by Symmachus *ῥεμβομένη*; Vulgate, *ne vagari insipiam*.[3] 𝔖, Symmachus, and the Vulgate apparently read "wanderer," transposing the letters and making עטיה into טעיה, the participle of the verb "to wander." See, however, 𝔖's rendering of ועטך עטה in Isa. 22:17 and the rabbinic commentaries on the passage.—על עדרי, 𝔖 ܥܠ=בעדר; cf. 𝔖's rendering of עדר עדר לבדו in Gen. 32:16.—החבריך is rendered in 𝔖 as ܐܝܠܝܩ=אֵילֵיק, "rams." Accordingly 𝔖's Hebrew text very likely read שלמה אהיה כטעיה בעדר אילך.

8. אם לא תדעי לך: 𝔖, following LXX, *ἐὰν μὴ γνῷς σεαυτήν*, translates it ܐܢ ܠܐ ܝܕܥܬ ܐܢܬ, taking לך as if it were a pronoun, which is quite in agreement with Syriac usage;[4] but here, as in many other places in the Bible (e.g., Cant. 2:10), לך is not accusative but a *dativus ethicus*, see Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford, 1910, p. 381. גדיתיך is translated in 𝔖 by ܓܕܝܝܟ=גְּדָיַיִךְ[5] without regard as to its gender, or, as some take it, to its diminutive form.—For על משכנות 𝔖 has ܒܡܫܟܢܘܬ=במשכנות.

9. For ברכבי 𝔖 uses the singular ܒܪܟܒܗ. Considering the fact that the Bible frequently uses the singular רכב as a collective noun, we may safely assume that in the present case, though unique, it has nothing to do with a plural form, but is rather a survival of an early case-ending.[6] Contrary to its practice, 𝔖 translates here in the singular, for the text here obviously does not deal with a chariot but rather with the carriage of Pharoah; cf. Ehrlich *ad loc.*

[1] See Grätz, *Schir Haschirim*, p. 43.

[2] See Kautzsch, *Gram. Bibl. Aram.*, 69, 10.

[3] See Grätz, *loc. cit.*, p. 131; Marti, p. 4, and Targum *ad loc.*

[4] See Brockelmann, *Syr. Gram.*, p. 39.

[5] 𝔖$^{pal}$, against all other available witnesses such as 𝔖$^{sam}$ and Bar Hebraeus, read ܓܕܝܬܝܟ.

[6] See Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, p. 253.

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10. לחייך is translated in 𝔖 by ܠܦܘܡܟ, the correct Syriac word for "cheek."—For בתורים 𝔖 has ܒܣܗܪ̈ܐ; cf. the talmudic expression שפחה מגודלת in Kiddushin 49*a*. LXX has ὡς τρυγόνες, as if it were כתרים.—For צוארך 𝔖 has ܘܥܘܦܝ=וצואריך.—For בחרוזים 𝔖 has ܒܟܠܠ. Here, too, LXX read כחרוזים.

11. For נקדות הכסף 𝔖 has ܘܟܠܠ ܘܫܘܡܐ. 𝔖 evidently did not use for נקדות the corresponding ܢܩܝܕ̈ܐ, but rather ܘܟܠܠ which makes good sense.

12. For עד שהמלך 𝔖 seems to have read עִם הַמֶּלֶךְ, for it has ܥܡ ܡܠܟܐ. For במסבו 𝔖 has ܒܣܘܡܦܣܝܘܢ, LXX, Aquila ἐν ανακλίσει. Symmachus has a similar rendering.—נרדי is translated in 𝔖 as a plural and without the pronominal suffix ܢܪܕ̈ܝ, but 𝔖$^{m}$ 𝔖$^{a}$ HM$^{a}$ and HM$^{b}$ have ܢܪܕ̈ܝ which agrees with the Hebrew.

13. דודי לי is rendered in 𝔖 in an exceptional manner, ܕܝܕܝ ܠܟ instead of the usual ܕܝܕܝ; cf. 1:14 where, too, דודי לי is conceived in 𝔖 as a pleonasm for דודי.

14. For בכרמי 𝔖 has ܒܟܦܪ̈ܐ=בְּכְפָרִים.

15. For יונים 𝔖 has ܕܝܘܢܐ=של יונה=עיני יונה is obviously the meaning of the simile. A like rendering of the same phrase is given by 𝔖 in 4:1, see Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs*, p. 140.

16. The second אף is omitted in 𝔖$^{p}$ 𝔖$^{w}$ 𝔖$^{l}$, but found in all other witnesses. Bar Hebraeus has ܐܦ, undoubtedly a corruption.[1]—רעננה is translated by ܪܥܝܢܐ=רצוף=רבוד; cf. 𝔖's rendering of רענן בהיכלי in Dan. 4:1.

17. For בָּתֵּינוּ 𝔖 gives ܒܝܬܢܘ=בֵּיתֵנוּ, a reading which is accepted by Grätz, Ehrlich, Zapletal, and many others.—רהיטנו is translated in 𝔖 by ܕܝܘܣ, a rendering which is supported by LXX and Symmachus; cf. the targumic translation of ברזל עשות in Ezek. 27:19. The Hebrew word is not found elsewhere, and its meaning can only be conjectured. According to F. Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 143) it is an Assyrian loan word *râṭu*, but Nöldeke thinks the word came originally from the Syriac (cf. ܪܗܛܐ=רהטים in Thomas of Marga [ed. Budge], I, 271) and means "boards."[2]—ברותים is correctly rendered in 𝔖 by ܕܒܪ̈ܘܬܐ=של ברותים; cf. 𝔖's translation of

[1] Cf. Rahlfs in *ZATW*, IX (1889), 171.

[2] See Budde, *loc. cit.*, pp. 6 f.

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כברוש in Hos. 14:9. The Syriac word is very likely a derivation from the Greek *κέδρος* and is also found in the Talmud, ארז קתרס, Rosh Hash. 23*a*.

CHAPTER II

1. אני is not translated in S, but instead we find ܐܢܐ = . . . . ,, owing to which a meaningless sentence results (כחבצלת השרון שושנת העמקים)).—חבצלת: Opinions differ as to the exact meaning of this Hebrew word as it stands here and in Isa. 35:1: LXX, *ἄνθος*; Vulgate, *flos;* Aquila, *καλύκωσις*, "rosebud"; Gr.-Ven., *ῥόδον*. In both halves of the present verse S has ܚܡܝܡܐ, while in Isa. 35:1 it is rendered by ܣܦܪܝܢܐ *autumo crocus* which is adopted here by many commentators.[1]—השרון is translated in S, not by ܫܪܘܢ as would be expected,[2] but by ܫܦܪܝܪ,[3] which in connection with ܡܝܫܪ is used for the translation of ברושים. See above, *ad* 1:17.—For העמקים the singular ܥܡܩܐ is used in S.

2. כשושנה is translated in S by ܚܡܝܡܐ, as if it were a plural.

3. For כתפוח S has ܬܦܘܚ = כתפוחים; presumably he took it as a collective noun.—For בעצי S used ܒܨܝܡܐ, for which compare the rabbinic usage of this word in the phrase אוכמ אנן קיסין (see Eccl. R. 7, 6). A resemblance of this root is traceable in the expression ואת פריה יקוסס found in Ezek. 17:9.—S seems to have read פריו = ܦܪܝܘ for ופריו; but $S^m$ has ܦܪܝ.

4. For הֲבִיאַנִי S has ܐܝܬܝܢ, as if it were written הֲבִיאֻנִי in the imperative plural, which agrees with *εἰσαγάγετέ με* of LXX and Symmachus.—For ודגלו S gives ܘܢܣܡ, as if vocalized וְדַגְּלוּ in the imperative. The LXX agrees with this reading, having *τάξατε*, while the Vulgate reads *ordinavit* = וְדִגֵּל, and Symmachus has *ἐπισωρεύσατε*. These readings do not involve any different consonantal Hebrew text. Commentators find nothing in favor of this variant.

5. Instead of סמכוני S seems to have read שימוני, for it has ܫܡܟܘܢܝ.—באשישות is translated in S by ܒܥܓܢܐ, a word which is more or less equivalent to the Hebrew רכות or חלקות. S seems to have taken this difficult word, which is subject to divers interpre-

[1] See Grätz, *loc. cit.*, p. 46.

[2] Cf. Isa. 33:9; 35:2; 65:10; and see Bernstein in *ZDMG*, III, 393.

[3] Cf. Isa. 41:19 where ברוש is rendered in S by the same word.

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tations,[1] as a diminutive of אִשָּׁה (cf. אישון from איש), in the sense of the German *Frauchen*. However, Syriac not being in possession of any diminutives,[2] S evidently substituted the generally used ܦܘܢܝܐ = "gentleness."—רפדונו, as accompanying תפוחים, is rather difficult for the Syriac translator to translate by ܣܥܕܘܢܝ (*v.* ܣܥܕ), which would be a possible rendering of רפד or רבד;[3] he therefore uses instead ܣܒܘܠܢܝ = סבוני, הקיפוני; cf. the rabbinic phrase כרך עיר מוקפת חומה.

6. תחת לראשי: S renders it very correctly ܬܚܬ ܠܪܫܝ = תחת ראשי as in 8:3.[4]

7. השבעתי אתכם, but S correctly ܐܫܬܒܥܬ ܥܠܝܟܝ = השבעתי אתכן, since it refers to בנות.—For בנות ירושלם S has ܒܢܬ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ; but in most places S omits the vocative ܐ.[5]

8. הנה זה בא: $S^a$ has ܗܐ ܗܢ ܐܬܐ, with which compare LXX, *ἰδοὺ οὗτος ἥκει*; but all other Syriac witnesses read ܗܐ ܗܢ ܐܬܐ.[6]—מדלג is translated in S by ܡܩܦܙ, a word used in rabbinic literature in the same sense; cf. שוור עשר אמין, Berachoth 54*b*.

9. לעפר is rendered in S by ܠܥܦܪ, the same word used above[7] in translating אילות.—For האילים S has ܐܝܠ in the singular.[8]—הנה זה: $S^{pwlh}$ against all other texts gives ܗܐ ܗܢ instead of ܗܢ ܗܐ.[9]—אדר is rendered in S by ܣܡܐ; but Bar Hebraeus has ܣܡܐ.[10]—

[1] The LXX translates אשישוש by *ἐν μύροις*, and the Vulgate by *floribus;* but Ibn Ezra, though giving no source, explains it as "vessels of glass full of wine," cf. B. P'sachin 36*b* כלי זכוכית מלאות יין. But Rashi (comm. *ad loc.*) allows all possible interpretations. A. Clarke (*Commentary on the Old Testament*, Vol. III) claims that "the original word means some kind of cordials with which we are unacquainted." Gesenius, followed by many others, seems to suggest the correct explanation. He derives אשישוש from אשש and connects it with the Arabic *ʾassasa*, "to found" or "establish," and so "cakes of pressed fruit," i.e., "grape cakes." See II Sam. 6:19 (with Driver's note); I Chron. 16:3; Isa. 16:7 (with Cheyne's note); Hos. 3:1 (adds ענבים). Cf. also the rendering of Symmachus.

[2] Cf. above, *ad* 1:6.

[3] Cf. *ad* 3:10.

[4] $S^m$ differs from all other editions of the Syriac text of Canticles in spelling of ܣܡܐ wherever the others have ܣܡܐ. See also 4:8, 14; 5:2, 11; 7:6; 8:3.

[5] Cf., e.g., 1:5. See, however, Bar Hebraeus *ad loc.* There are in Bar Hebraeus' notes variants which can be explained only with the help of the LXX.

[6] Owing to the similarity between ܗܢ and ܗܐ, ܗܢ was lost in $S^{pwl}$. See Rahlfs, *ZATW*, IX (1889), 170.

[7] 2:7 and cf. also verse 17 and other places.

[8] Cf. again verse 17, while in 8:14 S has a plural noun.

[9] Very likely a misprint as above (see n. 6, Rahlfs, *loc. cit.*).

[10] See Thorndyke's collation in Walton's Polyglot Bible, VI, 30.

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כחלנו is translated in ֆ by ; cf. Isa. 38:2, where אל הקיר is rendered in ֆ by .—For משגיח ֆ uses which agrees with ֆ in Isa. 14:17, where ישגיחו is translated by ; cf. the rabbinic expression לא דק ביה.—מציץ is translated in ֆ by which agrees with the Aramaic מרכין="to incline"; very likely because of the position the body assumes at the manner of looking described in this passage.—הרכים, Aramaic הרכא[1] is translated in ֆ by =צירים.

10. רעיתי יפתי is translated in $ֆ^{pwl}$ by , but $ֆ^{m}$ transposes it .

11. כי הנה הסתו עבר הגשם חלף הלך לו: $ֆ^{pwl}$ omits הגשם חלף, while all other available witnesses have these words. Very likely this omission in $ֆ^{pwl}$ is due to ὁμοιοτέλευτον after . Gottheil's[2] emendation in accordance with the LXX is altogether unnecessary.[3]—For הלך ֆ has =והלך.

12. הנצנים is rendered in ֆ by , from the root which is equal to the Hebrew root אבב; cf. the rabbinic expression דברו נביאים לשון הבאי, Hullin 90*b*.—הזמיר: ֆ renders it by , a translation supported by most of the ancient versions.[4] Accordingly many modern scholars translate this word "pruning" of the vine, and the form of the word is in favor of this, though it does not occur elsewhere in the Bible with this meaning. Compare the analogous expression עת הקציר="the time of harvest" in Jer. 51:33. In the light of this expression the translation "the time of pruning" is thoroughly justified. Nearly all the Jewish commentators,[5] except רשב"ם, as well as some modern critics reject this as being rather tame in so poetic a passage, and explain הזמיר as derived from זמר,

[1] See Jastrow, *Targ. Dict.*

[2] See his *Zur Textkritik der Pešiṭtâ* in Mitteil. d. Akad.-Orient. Vereins zu Berlin, No. 2, p. 27.

[3] See Rahlfs's in *ZATW*, IX (1889), 170 f. and cf. Göttsberger, *Bar Hebraeus*, etc., p. 104, n. 1.

[4] LXX τῆς τομῆς, Vulg. *putationis*, and the Targum עִדָּן קְטוּפָה. Cf. also K. Marti, *Die fünf Megilloth*, etc., pp. 10 f.

[5] Ibn Ezra has the above explanation, but rejects it because of the season of the year; the time for pruning being past when the vines are in bloom. "But there is what is called summer pruning, one purpose of which is to help in the formation of the fruit, or blossom-buds of fruit trees. This is done while the shoots are yet young and succulent so that they may in most cases be nipped off with the thumb-nail. The time for this would be just before the blooming, and both pruning and blooming would be processes appropriate to spring."—A. Harper, *The Song of Solomon* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 15.

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which actually occurs a number of times with the meaning "song," and refer it to the strophe וקול התור נשמע בארצנו. But there is no instance of this word being used of the singing of birds; it always refers to human singing.[1]

13. ℵ seems to have misunderstood the word חנטה (Arabic حَنَطَ), as the translator rendered it by נתנה=ܢܬܢ.—For פגיה ℵ has ܦܓܝܗ; cf. II Kings 4:39, where פקועת שדה is rendered in ℵ by ܦܩܘܥܬ ܫܕܐ: ℵ has ܦܓܘ ܕܫܕܐ=גפנים וסמדרים.[2]—ܦܓܘ.—In ℵ the Keri is followed in the reading of קומי לך instead of the Kethib קומי לכי רעיתי, which is the case in LXX.—יפתי precedes רעיתי in ℵ.

14. ℵ$^{m}$ agrees with the Hebrew in commencing this verse with יונתי=ܝܘܢܬܝ while ℵ$^{pwl}$ takes it to be the closing word of the preceding verse.[3]—For המדרגה ℵ gives ܕܫܒܝ,[4] as if it were המגדרה, instead of something like ܕܐܣܟܢ which would be more appropriate here.—For השמיעני ℵ has ܕܐܫܡܥܢܝ.—ℵ uses for ערב the word ܣܡܐ, whereby the words נעים in 1:16 (see above); נחה and מתוק in Ezek. 20:41 are tendered in ℵ.

15. מחבלי כרמים is translated in ℵ by ܡܚܒܠܝ ܕܟܪܡܐ=מחבלי כרמים.—For סמדר see above, 2:13.

17. עד שיפוח is translated in ℵ by ܥܕ ܕܢܦܚ=עד שיקר (cf. 4:6). The idea of פוח blowing (wind) is closely related to cold, frozen, etc.—For ונסו ℵ seems to have read ונטו, for it has ܘܢܙܕܘ, the Hebrew root of which is in most cases closely allied with צל, although there are other verbs, such as ברח, הלך, עבר, etc., available for the same purpose.[5]—Instead of סב ℵ evidently read טוב or הסב, for it renders it by the word ܗܦܟ.—הרי בתר is rendered in ℵ by ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܬܪ=הרי בשמים (cf. 8:14). The LXX translates it by ἐπὶ ὄρη κοιλωμάτων="mountains of ravines," deriving it from the verb בתר (Gen. 15:10). F. Perles (in his *Analekten*, p. 22) is of the opinion that הרי בתר is to be explained as an abbreviation of בת רבים.

[1] See, e.g., Isa. 25:5; and in plural II Sam. 23:1; Ps. 95:2, etc.

[2] For the exact meaning of סמדר in the Syriac Bible, see *Notes sur la Pessitto* by Rubens Duval in *REJ*, XIV (1887), 49–54.

[3] LXX has יונתי twice; once at the end of verse 13 and again at the opening of verse 14.

[4] Cf. the phrase עשו סיג לתורה in Abboth I, 1.

[5] Cf. II Kings 20:10; Jer. 6:4; Ps. 102:12; 109:23; 144:4; Job 14:2.

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CHAPTER III

1. את שאהבה נפשי, which also occurs in the three immediately following verses, is rendered in S by ܠܚܒܝܒܬ ܢܦܫܝ, except in verse 4 where it is translated ܠܡܢ ܕܢܦܫܝ ܪܚܡܬ.

2. For נא $S^{pwl}$ gives ܢ while $S^{mau}$ has ܢ.—וברחבות is translated in S by ܘܒܦܠܛܝܢ from the Greek πλατύς.

3. The question of את שאהבה נפשי ראיתם is introduced in S by ܐܡܬܝ which is equivalent to ܐܡܬܝ ܗܘ.

4. For הורתי S has ܕܝܠܕܬܝ=יולדתי,[1] although ܕܚܒܠܬ would probably be a more suitable expression in view of the fact that ליולדתה[2] is rendered in S by ܠܡܝܠܕܗ.

5. For the Syriac translation of this verse see 2:7.

6. כתימרות עשן is translated in S by ܟܬܝܪ ܥܫܢ ܕܥܫܢ=כעשרת עשן which is equivalent to the targumic rendering of the phrase והר סיני עשן, in Exod. 19:18.[3]—For מקטרת S has ܡܢܣܡܢ=מְבָשֶׂמֶת,[4] while Aquila's rendering ἀπὸ θυμάματος implies a change in the vocalization to make it read מִקְטֶרֶת,[5] which is also represented by Jerome and the Targum.—For מר ולבונה S has ܡܢܣܡܢ ܘܠܒܘܢܬܐ.—אבקת is translated in S by ܥܟܐ, the same word used in the Syriac translation of אבק רגליו in Nah. 1:3.—רוכל is translated in S not by ܣܚܪܐ,[6] as would be expected, but by the word ܒܣܡܝܢ=בשמים. However, considering the fact that the LXX exceptionally renders here this word by μυρεψοῦ while the Vulgate translates it by *pigmentarii* instead of *negotiator* or *institor*, as would be expected,[7] it may safely be assumed that the Syriac text is here incorrectly vocalized. Instead of ܚܰܫܡܢ, as Sionita gives, it should be read ܒֹּשֶׂם=ܒܘܫܡ.[8]

7. ישראל is given in $S^{pwl}$ ܐܝܫܪܝܠ, while $S^{m}$ eliminates from the word the final letter ܠ.

[1] Cf. Hos. 2:7 where this word occurs once more.

[2] See, e.g., 6:9, but cf. 8:5.

[3] See also Joel 3:3.

[4] See Grätz, *Schir Haschirim, ad loc.*

[5] Cf. Joseph Reider in *JQR* (N.S.), IV, 606.

[6] Cf., e.g., Ezek. 17:4; 27:3 seq.

[7] See Ezek. 27.

[8] For the meaning of this word consult Payne-Smith's *Thesaurus Syr.* s.v.

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8. For מלמדי 𝔖 has ܡܢ ܟܠ = ומלמדי, and for בלילות the Syriac translator very likely read הלילות, for 𝔖 translates it by ܒܠܝܠܝܐ.— על ירכו is rendered in 𝔖 by ܥܠ ܟܬܦܐ; cf. the rabbinic expression אי דדפנא אי דאטמא in Baba Metziah 23*b*.

9. אפריון from the Aramaic פוריא[1] is translated in $\mathfrak{S}^{pwl}$ ܡܛܬܐ (while in $\mathfrak{S}^{m}$ it is rendered by ܡܛܠ) which in its usual meaning equals the Hebrew כסא מלכות.[2]

10. רפידתו is translated in 𝔖 by ܡܪܟܒܬܐ,[3] the same Syriac word used in rendering the phrase רפדתי יצוע in Job 17:13.—זהב is incorrectly rendered in $\mathfrak{S}^{pwl}$ by ܕܗܒ, while $\mathfrak{S}^{m}$ and Thorndyke's collation (p. 30) have the better reading ܕܟܝ.—מרכבו is taken in 𝔖 in a changed meaning and is rendered by ܡܪܟܒܬܐ = "cover."— רצוף is translated in 𝔖 by ܕܫ; cf. above, *ad* 1:16.

11. Instead of וביום 𝔖 has ܒܝܘܡ = ביום, without the ו *copulativum*.

## CHAPTER IV

1. מבעד is rendered here by ܒܓܘ ܡܢ; likewise in 6:7, while in verse 3 of the present chapter the word ܡܢ ܒܝܬ is used instead.— לצמתך (although commonly taken to refer to the oriental veil called in Hebrew צעיף) is rendered in 𝔖 by ܕܫܬܝܩܬܟ = שתיקתך, while in Isa. 47:2 where צמתך occurs once more 𝔖 correctly has ܕܣܬܪܟ.[4] It seems that throughout the Old Testament, the root צמת is taken, in 𝔖, in the sense of "silence," except in Lev. 25:23 where לְצָמְתָה is translated by ܠܡܟܪ . . . . ܕܡܙܒܢ which evidently seems to be a

[1] Cf. the rabbinic phrase על שם שפרין ורבין עליה. It is also possible that it is to be explained as a noun formed like פדיון, דמיון, and derived from the verb פרה. See Ginsburg *ad. loc.*; Delitzsch, *Das Hohelied*, p. 23; and Grätz, *loc. cit.* Some of their predecessors endeavored to Hellenize this word by deriving it from the Greek φορεῖον which means a litter in which one is borne. While this may be its correct meaning the derivation of the word is uncertain. Cf. in this connection the rabbinic phrase עשו לה פוריון, Num. R. 12,215*a* and cf. Cant. R. 19*a*, *b*

[2] See Soṭa 9, 14.

[3] Cf. above, *ad* 2:5.

[4] It seems that LXX agrees here with 𝔖, for it has τῆς σωτηρίας σου; but in Isa. 47:2, LXX gives τὸ κατακάλυμμά σου and Vulg. has *turpitudinem tuam;* but here Vulg. renders it by *absque eo, quod intrinsecus latet*, the idea of which is developed in a more elaborate manner by A. Calmet (*Commentaire littéral sur le Vieux Testament*, etc., Vol. V, p. 95, ll. 13 f.) in the following words: "Vos yeux sont des yeux de colombe; sans ce que la pudeur, et la modestie tiennent caché."

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combination of the two versions, for in Lev. 25:30 לצמיתת is rendered by ܠܥܠܡ alone.—שגלשו:[1] This variously interpreted word is translated in ס by ܫܥܠܗ=שְׂעָלָה. The translator evidently thought this verb refers to כעדר, instead of connecting it with הגזים, and therefore translates it in the singular.—For מהר גלעד ס correctly gives ܒܓܠܥܕ ܕܢܦܠ ܡܢ, but Bar Hebraeus has ܡܢ ܒܓܠܥܕ. This omission of ܕ ܢܦܠ in $s^b$ is probably due to his carelessness or to that of the scribe of the Bible MS used by him.[2]

2. הקצובות (derived from קצב like חצב, קטב, חטב in the sense of "hewn") is translated in ס by ܕܓܙܘܪܘܬ=הגזרות,[3] a word which, though not quite exactly, nevertheless expresses its meaning and is supported by both LXX and Vulgate.—For שעלו $s^{pwl}$ gives ܫܥܠܗ, but all other witnesses read ܫܥܠܘ.—Since שכלם refers to הקצובות, it is correctly rendered in ס by ܫܟܠܗ=שכלן.[4] The same holds true also of בהם, ס ܒܗܝ=בהן.

3. If the clauses in this verse and half of the following verse be arranged in accordance with ס the Hebrew would read:[5]

כחוט השני שפתותיך, מדברך נאוה כפלח הרמון. רקתך
מבעד לצמתך כמגדל דוד צוארך בנוי לתלפיות וג"ו

For ומדברך $s^{pwl}$ has ܡܢܡܠܠܟ=מדברך, but Bar Hebraeus and $s^{aum}$ preserve what may be considered the older reading which agrees with the Hebrew.[6] The word does not mean "speech" (LXX, λαλιά; Gr.-Ven., *διάλογος*; Vulg., *eloquium*), but the "organ of speech," to agree with the other half of the sentence.—For נאוה $s^{pwl}$ has ܫܦ, but Bar Hebraeus and $s^{au}$ present ܦܘܡ.[7] Compare the expression כי לך יאתה in Jer. 10:7.—כפלח is in $s^{pwl}$ rendered by the plural

[1] This word seems to be connected with the Arabic جَلَسَ though Grätz would not acknowledge it. But Levy (*Neuhebr. Wörterbuch, sub voce*) derives it from the late Jewish-Aramaic noun גלשא and translates this passage, "which go by in waves."

[2] See Rahlfs, *ZATW*, IX (1889), 170.

[3] Cf. II Kings 4:6 where קצב is translated in ס by ܩܨܒ, but there it is connected with עץ.

[4] Thorndyke in his collation (p. 30): "ܫܟܠܗ] Poc. ܫܟܠ 6. 4. cum ◌ in Poc. ubi Uss. ܫܟܠ◌."

[5] But cf. 4:7 which agrees with the Hebrew text.

[6] Cf. Rahlfs, *loc. cit.*, p. 166.

[7] See *ibid.*

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ܐܝܟ which is incorrect. Bar Hebraeus $S^{au}$ and Cod. Pococke give the singular ܐܝܟ which undoubtedly is the older and more correct reading.[1] For the meaning of the Syriac word compare 5:7 where פְּצָעוּנִי is translated ܦܨܥܘܢܝ.—רְקָתֵךְ is translated in S ܦܪܦܟ=עֵרֶף,[2] while in Judg. 4:21, 22 and 5:26 רַקָּה is correctly rendered by ܪܘܬܐ, "temple"—a word used frequently for the rendering of צַד.[3]—For the Syriac translation of מִבְעַד לְצַמָּתֵךְ see our note on verse 1 of the present chapter.

4. בְּנוּי לְתַלְפִּיוֹת is translated in S by ܒܢܝ ܕܣܦܣܐ, for the meaning of which compare the rabbinic expression מְהֻדָּר אֲרִיג תֵּיכֵי.[4] The Syriac word ܣܦܣܐ allows many explanations,[5] as does also the Hebrew word תַּלְפִּיוֹת.[6]—הַמָּגֵן is correctly translated in S by the plural ܡܓܢ̈ܐ, the same word used in S to translate the word מָגֵן wherever it occurs in the Bible, except in the following cases: The expression אָנֹכִי מָגֵן לָךְ in Gen. 15:1 is rendered by ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܪ. In Deut. 33:29 the phrase מָגֵן עֶזְרֶךָ is translated ܡܫܬܪ ܥܙܪܟ. Likewise תָּלוּי is correctly translated in the plural ܬ̈ܠܝ̈ܢ=תְּלוּיִם.

5. צְבִיָּה is translated in S by ܨܒܝ̈ܐ, as if it were a plural and without any regard for its gender, cf. 1:8, etc. This is also the case in 7:4.

6. For הַצִּלְלִים $S^{pwl}$ gives ܒܨܠܠܐ, while $S^{um}$ and two Harvard MSS have ܒܨܠܠܬ ܐܝܡܡ.—For אֵלֵךְ לִי S gives ܘܐܙܠ. The translator evidently took it as an invitation to the beloved one=לְכִי.—The expressions אֶל הֵר and וְאֶל גִּבְעַת are translated in S in the plural ܠܛܘܪ̈ܐ and ܘܠܓܒ̈ܥܬܐ respectively.

8. =ܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܠܒܢܢ. ܣܦ ܡܠܬܐ: ܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܠܒܢܢ ܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܠܒܢܢ ܬܒܘܐ ܡܢ ܫܢܝܪ ותשורי אתי מלבנון וכ"ו אתי מלבנון. אחתי כלה אתי מלבנון תבואי LXX, δεῦρο ἀπὸ Λιβάνου, νύμφη, δεῦρο ἀπὸ Λιβάνου. ἐλεύσῃ

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Cf. Lev. 5:8 where עֹרֶף is translated in Onkelos by קְדִילְיָה.

[3] Cf., e.g., Num. 33:55.

[4] Baba Kanna 119*b* and cf. Becheroth 29*b*.

[5] Sionita in his Latin translation of S renders ܣܦܣܐ by *cum balaustiis;* but cf., e.g., Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum, sub voce.*

[6] For various renderings of this word see modern biblical commentaries *ad loc.* According to Grätz, Budde, and others this word is really a Greek loan word, τηλῶτις or τηλωτός, "a distant prospect." Against this view see Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder*, p. 23, Anm. 8, 14, and Cannon, *The Song of Songs*, p. 127. The LXX takes it as a proper name Θελπιάθ. See also Margoliouth in the *Expositor*, January, 1900, p. 45.

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καὶ διελεύσῃ ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς πίστεως = תבאי ; אתי מלבנון כלה. אתי מלבנון וחעברי מראש אמונה; Vulgate, *Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni; coronaberis de capite Amana* = אתי מלבנון כלתי. אֲתִי מלבנון. אתי תעטרי (or תתעטרי) מראש אמנה. The translator seems to have taken the word אֲתִי as the imperative of the verb אָתָה and translated it ܐܬܝ = אֱתִי, which is also that of LXX and Vulgate and is most likely the original Hebrew. See, however, Ginsburg, p. 158.—Following the LXX, ס renders תשורי by ܘܬܥܒܪܝ = וחעברי, the sense of which is proven by Isa. 57:9 and the versions.[1]—אמנה is rendered in ס by the plural ܐܡܢܢ.—For the second מראש ס has ܡܪܝܫ = ומראש.—Likewise for מהררי ס ומהררי = ܘܡܗܪܪܝ.

9. לִבַּבְתִּנִי is translated in ס by ܐܚܕܬܢܝ.[2] So also Symmachus, ἐθάρσυνας. The Hebrew word לבב is translated here by the Syriac ܐܚܕ which conveys an altogether different meaning.—מצורניך (a diminutive of צואר) is rendered in ס by ܒܙܘܪܟ = מצוארך.[3]

10. For מה ס$^{pwl}$ has against all other witnesses ܡܢ = ומה.—דדיך ס renders by ܕܕܝܟ = שָׁדַיִךְ. So also does the LXX. Geiger[4] advanced the theory that the word דַּדִּים was changed to דֹּדִים[5] from motives of decency, and that this locution had caused the canonicity of the book to be doubted. ס does not seem to have taken the word טבו to mean "good," "better," but rather in the sense of "beautiful," for it gives ܫܦܝܪ.—For the Syriac rendering of שמניך see above, *ad* 1:3.

11. נפת is translated in ס by ܢܛܦ; cf. LXX κηρίον. The same Syriac word is used in ס in translating נפת צופים in Ps. 19:11, while נפת in Prov. 5:3 is rendered by ܢܨܡ.

12. The Hebrew word גל in this verse is suspicious. In the singular it never means anything but "a heap of stones" (Gen. 31:46 f., Josh. 8:28 f.; II Sam. 18:17; Isa. 25:2; Job 8:17, all the instances). In the plural it often means "the rolling waves of the sea," as "All thy breakers and thy rollers went over me" (Ps. 42:8;

[1] See Harper, *The Song of Solomon*, p. 29.

[2] Cf. Peshitta on I Thess. 5:14.

[3] See our note above, *ad* 1:6.

[4] *Urschrift*, etc., pp. 397 ff.

[5] In Song of Songs 1:2, 4; 4:10; 7:13 with various suffixes. Greek μαστοί.

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Jonah 2:4). Such a word, even if it could mean "wave" in the singular, would be most inappropriate.[1] S presents a better and more suitable reading, ܓܢܐ = גַּן, and has the support of the LXX κῆπος, the Vulgate *hortus*, and some MSS.

13. שלחיך is translated in S by ܫܠܝܚܬܟ = שְׁלִיחוֹתָךְ which makes the meaning of the phrase more obscure.—מגדים is rendered by ܘܡܓܕ̈ܐ (cf. 5:16). Wherever מגד occurs in the Bible it is translated in S by ܘܡ (cf. 6:11).—כפרים and נרדים are translated in S in the singular by ܟܦܪܐ and ܢܪܕܐ respectively.

14. נרד is omitted in S, perhaps because it follows so closely נרדים.—For וקנמון S$^{pwl}$ gives ܘܩܢܡܘܢܐ, while S$^{m}$ has ܘܩܢܡܘܢ.—כל is not translated in S.—Both עצי and ראשי are rendered in S in the singular ܥܨܐ and ܪܫ respectively.

15. ומזלים is rendered in S by the relative ܕ = דְּ.[2]

16. For צפון S uses ܨܦܢ (cf. Targum on Prov. 25:23).—הפיחי is represented in S$^{pwlm}$ by ܐܦܝ, but Cod. Ussher has ܐܦܝ.[3]—Instead of גני S has ܒܓܢܝ = בְּגַנִּי.—For בשמיו S presents ܒܣܡܝܢ = בְּשָׂמַי, as does also the LXX ἀρώματά μου.—S, like the LXX and the Vulgate, begins the next chapter with יבא דודי לגנו וכ"ו, but S$^{m}$ follows the verse division of the Hebrew text.—For פרי S has ܡܦܪܝ = מִפְּרִי.

CHAPTER V

1. In the Peshitta this verse really forms the second verse of the present chapter, the first verse beginning with יבא דודי, etc., with which the preceding chapter closes.[4]—באתי לגני אחתי כלה is translated in S twice and S adds once more באתי לגני, but all other witnesses translate it once, adding באתי לגני.—אריתי[5] is correctly translated in S by ܩܛܦ̈ܬ,[6] while in Ps. 80:13 the same

[1] Ibn Ezra and some other Jewish commentators take גל to be the correct reading and explain it as synonymous with מעין and identify it with גַּלָּה (Josh. 15:19) which does mean "spring." So also does Hitzig, *Comm.*, p. 61.

[2] The ו *copulativum* is represented in LXX against S and Vulg.

[3] See Thorndyke's collation, p. 30.

[4] S$^{w}$ counts this as the first verse of the chapter, except that it begins the chapter with יבא, etc., of the previous verse, closing the passage with דודים as LXX and Vulg. do.

[5] Cod. Poc. has only ܐܬܝ ܠܓܢܝ ܐܚܬܝ.

[6] But Cod. Uss. ܩܛܦ̈ܬ.

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word is rendered by ܒܫܡܝ.—בשמי, which should really be emended to בְּשָׂמַי, is translated in 𝔖, as well as in LXX, as if it read בְּשָׂמַי = ܒܣܡܝ.—For אכלתי $\mathfrak{S}^{pwl}$ gives ܐܟܠ, while $\mathfrak{S}^{um}$ and two Harvard MSS have ܐܟܠܬ.—ירעי is translated in 𝔖 by ܕܡܫܡܫܢ,[1] while in I Sam. 14:27 the word ܕܡܬܢ is used instead.—It seems that the LXX, Vulgate, and Peshitta took דודים as being synonymous with רעים, though both words are rendered in 𝔖 by ܕܘܕܝ = דודי and ܪܥܝ = רעי.—For שחו 𝔖 has the better reading ושחו = ܘܫܚܘ which is confirmed by LXX and Vulgate.—ושכרי is translated in 𝔖 by ܘܫܟܪ, for the meaning of which compare the Hebrew expression לשכר ספות הרוה and the rabbinic phrase שבקידה לרויא, Sabbath 32*b*.

2. דופק is translated in 𝔖 by ܘܢܩܦ, for the meaning of which compare the expression דא לדא נקשן in Dan. 5:6. The LXX translates it by *κρούει ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν*. In explaining this passage some help may be gained from Judg. 19:22, the only other place in the Old Testament where the verb דפק is used in this sense. In the latter passage it is followed by על הדלת, LXX *κρούοντες ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν*. In view of this it is reasonable to suppose that the words have fallen out of the Hebrew text and the Greek reading may here be adopted, as it would improve the sense.—תמתי is rendered in 𝔖 without the possessive suffix by ܬܡܡܐ = תמה; so likewise in 6:9 (8).—For טל $\mathfrak{S}^{pwl}$ has ܒܟܐ, while all other witnesses read ܒܟܐ.—For קוצתי 𝔖 has ܘܩܘܨܬܝ, while ורסיסי is rendered by ܘܪܣܝܣ = ומרסיסי.

3. פשטתי is translated in 𝔖 by ܐܦܫܛ, while in Isa. 32:11 פשטה ועירה is rendered by ܐܦܫܛ ܘܥܪܛ, for the meaning of which compare the usage of the word in the rabbinic phrase טומנין בשלחין ודם העורות שנפשטו, Sabbath 49*a*.—אשנפם is correctly rendered in 𝔖 by ܐܫܬܦܢ = אשנפן, since it refers to רגלי.

4. שלח is rendered in 𝔖 by ܗܘܫܝܡ = הושים, while the phrase ומעי המו עליו is translated ܘܡܥܝ ܗܡܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ.[2] The Vulgate has

[1] Curiously LXX translates this word by *ἄρτον μου* = לחמי; cf. also the Arabic version in the London Polyglot بُجبُزّى, and Symmachus *ὀρυμόν*. But in view of the reading of Symmachus it may perhaps be conjectured that the original LXX reading was *ἀγρόν* of which *ἄρτον* is a corruption.

[2] Cf. Isa. 16:11 and Jer. 31:19 where the same word is differently rendered in the Peshitta, though not conveying the exact meaning of the Hebrew.

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a similar rendering, *et venter meus intremuit ad tactum ejus.* See Ginsburg *ad loc.*

5. וידי נטפו is rendered in S in the singular ܘܐܝܕܝ ܢܛܦ=וְיָדַי. נטפה.—עֹבֵר is in $S^{pwl}$ translated in the plural by ܢܛܦܢ=נטפו, but $S^{uma}$ and a Harvard MS read ܢܛܦ. According to S it seems to refer to ואצבעתי and the translator read it as if it were עָבְרוּ.—For על כפות S has ܥܠ ܟܦܝܗ=על כה.

6. חמק[1] is strangely translated in S by ܐܬܝܒ. So also Aquila ἔκλινεν, Symmachus ἀπονεύσας παρῆλθεν. In the LXX the word has been omitted by the copyist's error. See, however, 7:2 where the Ethpe'el of ܐܬܟ is used, while in Jer. 31:2 the phrase עד מתי תתחמקין is translated in S by ܥܕ ܡܬܝ ܬܬܐܬܟ.

7. This verse in the Syriac, slightly differing from some of the available texts, is preserved in Ishodadh's Introduction to his *Commentary on Canticles.*[2] It agrees with $S^{uma}$ and two Harvard MSS in omitting one ו in ܕܟܘܢܝ=הכוני and in the rendering of the phrase את רדידי מעלי.—For מעלי S has ܡܢ=ממני.—החמות is translated in the singular ܚܡܬܐ.

8. For the Syriac translation of השבעתי אתכם, etc., see our note on 2:7.—For the question מה תגידו לו S has the imperative ܐܬܟܝܕܘ ܠܗ=הגידו לו.

9. מה דודך מדוד[3] is translated in S by ܡܢܘ ܕܝܕܟ ܡܢ ܕܝܕ. The translator rendered מדוד in the plural.

10. The Hebrew word צח is an adjective derived from צחח= "to shine" or "glow," "to be brightly white," and is translated in S by ܫܦܝ. Here and in Lam. 4:7, where the word is used of the color of the skin,[4] it means a clear, white complexion.—For דגול the Syriac translator read ודגול and rendered it ܘܒܚܘܪ=ובחור.—Like the LXX, the Peshitta translates מרבבה in the plural.

[1] This word is derived from a doubtful root. It is perhaps equivalent to the Arabic حمق in the sense of שנה טעם; cf. Brown-Briggs-Driver, *Hebrew Lexicon.*

[2] See Diettrich, *Ishodadh's Stellung*, p. xviii.

[3] Cf. the talmudic idiom מה יום מיומים. ומה גבר בגוברין, San. 65*b*.

[4] In Lam. 4:7 the phrase is "more *tsach* than *milk*," contrasted with "darker than blackness." In Isa. 18:4 the word צח is taken in S as being identical with צחיח and is rendered by ܫܦܝ.

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11. For כתם S has ܐܘܪ = כאבן,[1] a rendering which agrees with that of Aquila, λίθεα τοῦ χρυσίου.[2]—פז is translated in S ܕܗܒ.[3]—תלתלים occurs in the Bible only here, and is derived from תלל or תל. It is very likely a diminutive form of the latter or an intensifying form like טלטלה, חלחלה.[4] Its exact meaning is not known. S renders it ܦܫܘܛܐ = פשוטות. For שחרות $S^m$ has ܘܫܚܪܘܬ = ושחרות.

12. In this verse S evidently does not draw any comparison between eyes and doves as the Hebrew text does, but indicates rather a reading of עיניו עיני יונים, for it has ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܝܘܢܐ = עיניו כשל יונים; cf. above, *ad* 1:15 and 4:1. So also the LXX, Vulgate, and other versions.—For אפיק S has here ܐܦܝܩ, but in some other places[5] the word is rendered by ܢܗܪܐ, ܦܝܬܐ, etc.—רחצות is correctly translated in S ܕܫܝܛܐ = הרחצות.—For ישבות S has ܘܝܬܒ = וישבות, while גלאת is rendered in S by ܓܠܐܬܐ; evidently the translator did not consider it a parallel to אפיק. In Ezek. 28:17 where this word occurs again S translates it ܓܠܐܬܐ.[6]

13. כערוגת הבשם: The Syriac translator correctly read this phrase in the plural and accordingly rendered it by ܐܘܪ ܟܥܪܓܬܐ ܕܒܘܫܡܐ = כערוגות הבשמים. So also Aquila, but LXX translates it φιάλαι, which is, however, difficult to understand. The original Greek reading probably was πρασιαί as in Aquila and Symmachus. This gives much better sense than the Hebrew and is supported by the

[1] The word כתם is variously translated in S; see, e.g., Ps. 49:10; Prov. 25:12; Dan. 10:5, etc., and cf. the talmudic phrase כיפי דברדא and the targumic translation of וכפים (Job 30:6) by ואבניא.

[2] The rendering of כתם פז in LXX is a compound of καί and a transliteration of פז. Some of the LXX MSS present various readings (see Cannon, *Song of Songs*, p. 122) all of which suggest a reading וּפָז (perhaps אופז, Jer. 10:9, LXX Μωφαζ; or Dan. 10:5, LXX Ωφαζ). Delitzsch (*Comm.*, Engl. transl., 1891, p. 100) seems to be right in maintaining that the two Hebrew words are in apposition and give an excellent sense without the ו. Probably the Greek translator thought the conjunction necessary and added its equivalent καί to improve the sense. But the MT seems to be better.

[3] But cf. the Syriac translation of the same word in Lam. 4:2; Ps. 21:4, etc.

[4] Cf. the talmudic phrase תלי תלים של הלכות in Menachoth 29*b*.

[5] Cf., e.g., Ezek. 31:12 and Joel 1:20.

[6] For the incorrectness of this passage in the Syriac text of the London Polyglot see Göttsberger, *Bar Hebraeus*, etc., p. 104, n. 1.

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Vulgate *areolae . . . . consitae.* A plural noun also agrees better with לְחָיָיו and is in fact rendered necessary by it.—מגדלות מרקחים is omitted in S.—For שושנים S has ܐܝ ܚܩܠܐ = כשושנים.—Instead of נטפות S has ܢܛܦ = הנטפות.—עבר seems to be omitted in S, but in its place is found ܘܢܪ = ונרדים, see Grätz, *Hohelied*, p. 178, and cf. above, *ad* 5:5. The word עבר evidently was here variously understood, for Aquila translated it *ἐπίλεκτος* or *ἐκλεκτός*. So also the Targum בחירא.[1]

14. גלילי is rendered in S in the singular ܐܝ ܓܠܝܠ = כגליל.[2] So, too, is the plural ממלאים rendered by the singular ܡܡܠܐ = ממלא.—For בתרשיש S has ܐܒܢܝ ܕܗܒ = אבני זהב. Likewise, the Greek *editio quinta et sexta* χρυσολίθων.[3]—The translator does not use the usual ܥܕܬܐ for מעיו,[4] but rather ܡܥܝܬ.—עשת is a word the meaning and origin of which is not known exactly. In S it seems to have been taken as derived from עשה = "to make," for it has ܥܒܕ, hence מעשה שן.[5]—מעלפת, which Rashi defines as מקושטת ומחוקנת בספירים,[6] is rendered in S by ܕܫ ; cf. here the LXX rendition.

15. For מיסדים S has ܗܡܝܣܕܝܢ = המיסדים, and for אדני S gives here ܐܣܛܘܢ, otherwise translated ܐܣܛܘ; cf. the rendering of Targum Jonathan חומרין דכסף for אדני כסף in Exod. 26:19.—For the Syriac translation of פז see our note on 5:11.—מראהו is here not translated by the usual ܚܙܘ, but by ܚܙܝܘ = חזהו. The translator evidently took it as a fitting parallel to שוקיו.—For כלבנון S has ܐܝ ܟܠܒܢܘܢ, and for בחור S gives ܘܒܚܘܪ = ובחור for which see above, *ad* 5:10.

[1] See J. Reider, in *JQR* (N.S.), IV, 610.

[2] Cf., however, I Kings 6:34 ; Esther 1:6 .

[3] In other places this word is correctly translated in S by ; cf. Exod. 28:20; 39:13, etc., though in Ezek. 28:13 and Dan. 10:6 .

[4] Cf. above, *ad* 5:4; Isa. 16:11; Jonah 2:2, etc.

[5] Likewise ברזל עשות (Ezek. 27:19) is rendered in S by . In Isa. 5:28 this expression does not occur, though Gesenius asserts that in S עשתו is there translated *divites facti sunt*, because the translator read in his Hebrew text עשרו for the word וירעשרו at the end of verse 27 (which in S belongs to verse 28) and translated thereby.

[6] Cf. Gen. 38:14 where Targum has ואתקנת and S used for ותתעלם.

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16. ממתקים, "sweets," is a collective noun like משמנים, and is translated here ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ;ܡ̈ܬ̈ܩ̈ܢ=ו֯ס֯ כירות מתוקות.[1] וכלו— is translated in ס ܘܟܠܝܗ=ס֯ס֯ו֯ס֯ וְכֻלָּיו; cf. the phrase מאניא די מתיהבין in Ezra 7:19.—ס as well as the LXX and Vulgate close this chapter with the first verse of the following chapter.

CHAPTER VI

1. For ונבקשנו ס has ܘܢܒ̈ܩ̈ܫ̈ܢ=ס֯ שנבקשנו.

2. This forms the first verse of the present chapter in the Syriac Bible.—For לערוגות ס has ולערוגות.—הבשם is translated in ס by the plural ܒ̈ܣ̈ܡ̈ܐ (cf. Isa. 5:13); ס$^{m}$ has ܒ̈ܣ̈ܡ̈ܢ.—The infinitives לרעות, וללקט are correctly rendered in ס by the final verbs ܠ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ and ܠ̈ܩ̈ܛ̈.

4. The geographical proper name תרצה, early applied to Samaria, is rendered in ס not by ܫ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܘ̈ܢ, as would be expected, but by ܨ̈ܒ̈ܐ ;ܐ֯ו֯ס֯=כרצון. Likewise LXX, E', ὡς εὐδοκία; Aquila, κατ' εὐδοκίαν; Symmachus, εὐδοκητή; Theodotion and E', εὐδοκῶ, instead of the usual Θερσά. The Vulgate, too, uses *suavis* instead of the expected *Thersa*, and the Targum homiletically renders it by בזמן דצבותך למעבד רעותי. It is hard indeed to account for these senseless renditions found in the ancient versions, while they translated the phrase נאוה כירושלים correctly. Considering the fact that Tirsah does not belong to the few unknown cities of the Bible and that in the Bible cities are frequently compared to beautiful women,[2] it can only be explained that the ancient translators found the text before them either archaic or mystical; and to be either of these it must have been an old text. It may also be possible that we have here a mannerism which is paralleled in rabbinic hermeneutics (נוטריקון) and consists in breaking up a pluriliteral into two elements.—For כנדגלות the translator, following his interpretation of דגול in verse 10, uses ܨ̈ܒ̈ܐ ;ܐ֯ו֯ס֯, for the meaning of which compare the phrase איש בחור in II Chron. 14:17 and other places.[3]

[1] Cf. above, *ad* 4:11. The word ܡ̈ܬ̈ܩ̈ܢ is frequently used in ס to translate the words נפת, יערה, צפיחית, while in Neh. 8:10 this expression is omitted.

[2] See Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, IV, 779.

[3] See, however, above, *ad* 2:4, and Ps. 20:6.

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5. For שהם 𝔖 has correctly ܗܘ̈ܢ=שהן, since it refers to הרהיבני.—עיניך, from ܪܗܒ, is rightly translated in 𝔖 by ܐܦܝ̈ܢ. On the other hand, in Ps. 38:3 the Syriac translator must have read תִּרְבֵּנִי. The root of the Syriac word used here, in both Arabic and Syriac means "confusion" and occurs in Syriac with the prefix ܡ= מ; cf. the talmudic usage of this word in Berachoth 47*a*, הוה קא מסרהב ואכיל, and also the Targum *ad loc.*—שגלשו מן הגלעד is rendered in 𝔖 by ܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܡܢ ܛܘܪ ܓܠܥܕ=שעלה מהר הגלעד; cf. above, *ad* 4:1.

6. The word הרחלים is interpreted in 𝔖 like קצובות in 4:2, see above, and translated by ܓܙܘܙ̈ܬܐ=הגזוזות, instead of by ܩܨܝ̈ܒ as would be expected; cf., e.g., Gen. 31:38. Likewise the LXX, which adds also the phrase כחוט השני שפתותיך ומדברך נאוה from 4:3.—For שכלם 𝔖 correctly has ܫܟ̈ܠܗܝ=שכלן.—שעלו is here translated in the singular, though above, 4:2, the same word is rendered by ܫܟ̈ܚ.—For בהם 𝔖 correctly gives ܒܗܝ=בהן.

7. Note the difference of the Syriac translation of this verse from that in 4:3.

8. For המה 𝔖 correctly has ܗܢ=הנה.—For ושמנים 𝔖$^{pwl}$ has ܘܫܡ̈ܢܐ, while 𝔖$^{m}$ gives ܘܫܡ̈ܢܐ.—פילגשים is translated in 𝔖 by ܦܝ̈ܠܓ̈ܫ; cf. the talmudic phrase ירמיה אחי העביר עלי את הדרך in San. 31*b*. In a similar sense Johanan b. Zakai interpreted דרך גבר בעלמה; see Yalkut II, sec. 936.—אין מספר is rendered in 𝔖 by ܐܝ̈ܢ ܠܗܢ ܡܢܝܢ=אשר אין להן מספר, instead of by the usual ܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ; cf., e.g., Ps. 104:25.

9. For ברה the Syriac translator read וברה and translated it ܘܡܨܠ, thus deriving ברה from the root ברר (cf. the phrase ברו לכם איש in I Sam. 17:8). However, in the following verse it is made clear that ברה is to be taken in the sense of "pure," "clear," and accordingly it is there rendered in 𝔖 by ܕܟܝ. But the LXX translates this word in both places by *ἐκλεκτή* and so also the Vulgate *electa;* Symmachus has *καθαρά*.—Both ויאשרוה and וירהללוה are rendered in 𝔖 by ܘܢܫܒܚܘܗܝ, though the first word could have been translated ܘܐܫܪ ܠܗ ܘܢܫܒܚܘܗܝ, as in Prov. 31:26.

10. הנשקפה can be taken either as a passive or active participle, since נשקה is used in either way.[1] Here 𝔖 takes it as active and

[1] Cf. Judg. 5:23 and Num. 21:20.

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translates it by ܕܡܟܡܨ.—נדגלות is rendered in $\mathfrak{S}^{pwl}$ by ܕܓܕܠ= רבבות ($\mathfrak{S}^{m}$ ܕܪܒܒ). This translation was very likely arrived at by analogy with the phrase דגול מרבבה (5:10), though in verse 4 of the present chapter the word is rendered differently.

11. אגוז is translated in $\mathfrak{S}$ by the plural ܐܓܘܙ=אגוזים.—The word לראות occurs twice in this passage. The first is taken in $\mathfrak{S}$ as a final verb and is translated ܠܡܚܙܝ, while the second is rendered by ܠܡܚܙܝ as if it were an infinitive.—For באבי the singular form ܒܐܒ=באב is used in $\mathfrak{S}$, while the singular form הנחל is rendered by ܢܚܠܐ=הנחלים as if it were a plural.—The question הנצו is emphatically presented in $\mathfrak{S}$ by ܗܠ ܗܢܨܘ=ואם הנצו.

12. For לא $\mathfrak{S}^{pwl}$ has ܠ while $\mathfrak{S}^{mu}$ ܘܠ=ולא.—ידעתי is rendered in $\mathfrak{S}$ by ܝܕܥܐ=ידעה[1] which the translator connects with נפשי: לא ידעה נפשי, etc.—For במרכבת $\mathfrak{S}$ has ܒܡܪܟܒܬ=במרכבת.—According to the Masora (though some MSS differ) עמי־נדיב are two words (Baer, p. 49). The י in עמי seems to be *litera compaginis* and a mark of the construct state.[2] The word עם may be used to denote "companions," "attendants."[3] In the LXX these words are rendered as if constituting a proper name; but in $\mathfrak{S}$ they are translated ܕܡܟܡܨ, ܕܥܡܐ,[4] thereby rendering the meaning of the passage more obscure. There is the following very curious variant in this verse, preserved in a fragment of Origen: *πατὴρ Ναασσὼν ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ λαοῦ μου Ἀμιναδὰβ ἔθετό με ἐαυτοῦ εἰς ἅρματα.*[5] Apparently the one who is responsible for this reading had no idea what עמי נדיב meant. Endeavoring to simplify the meaning of this passage, he used a gloss from I Chron. 2:10: *Ἀμειναδὰβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ναασσὼν ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου Ἰούδα*, which at first was perhaps only a marginal note. It is obvious that such a reading has no critical value whatsoever. It, however, exhibits the fact that the Greek translator was puzzled in rendering this phrase.

[1] The Syriac word should perhaps be vocalized ܝܕܥܐ instead of ܝܕܥܐ.

[2] See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford, 1910), sec. 90, 3, K. 1.

[3] See Eccles. 4:16 and Ginsburg's *Commentary*. So Renan, Bruston, Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder*, p. 21, Anm. 1, 21.

[4] ܕܡܟܡܨ is here used for נדיב without any regard for the existence of such words as ܕܢ, ܕܡܟܡܢ, etc., which are usually used in such cases. For the meaning of this word see the Syriac translation of the phrase ܘܢܡܠ־ܘܗܟܝܢܘ ܐܬ ܐܫܪ ܝܒܪܐ ܒܢܡܨ in Exod. 16:5 and cf. the rabbinic phrase שנטירבה או שנדירה in Shebiith 4, 42.

[5] *Excerpta Procopiana ex Orig.*, ed. De la Rue, III, 101*b*.

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CHAPTER VII

1. The first half of this verse forms in ܣ verse 12 of the preceding chapter, and ܣ begins the present chapter with מַה תֶּחֱזוּ, etc. Both the LXX and the Vulgate add this half verse to chapter 6 also.—שׁוּבִי שׁוּבִי: Ishodadh[1] has after the first שׁוּבִי the word ܟܡ.—וְנֶחֱזֶה is translated in ܣ by ܢܬܫܘܒ, with which compare the targumic use of תְּחַוְרוּן for רְאֵה in Prov. 23:33; cf. also the Syriac translation of צוֹפָה in verse 5 of the present chapter. But תֶּחֱזוּ is here translated ܢܚܙܘ. An opposite tendency is exhibited in 6:9 where two Hebrew synonyms are rendered by one Syriac word.—בְּשׁוּלַמִּית is rendered by ܒܫܠܡܘܬ=בְּשַׁלְמוֹת. Aquila translates it by *εἰρηνεύουσα*, while the LXX gives *ἡ Σουναμῖτις* =הַשּׁוּנַמִּית. This Greek reading may perhaps be due to the fact that the place Shunem changed its name in later days, and became known as Sohulem.[2]—כִּמְחֹלַת הַמַּחֲנָיִם is rendered in ܣ by ܐܘ ܢܫܘ ܐܘ ܡܚܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܣܘܠܡ. It seems that like the LXX, Vulgate, Symmachus, and most of the rabbinic commentators, because of the definite article ה, ܣ took מַחֲנָיִם as a dual form of מַחֲנֶה, and not as a proper name as do most of modern commentators (except Budde) and the Revised Version. The insertion of *ἡ ἐρχομένη*, though supported by the Syriac ܢܫܘ, has no claim to be admitted into the text.[3]

2. פַּעֲמַיִךְ is here rendered by ܪܓܠܝܟ=רַגְלַיִךְ, though the translator could have used more suitable expressions such as ܡܫܟܐ, ܡܠܦܐ, etc.—בַּת נָדִיב is translated in ܣ ܒܢܬ ܨܝ, for the meaning of which see our note on 6:12.—חֲמוּקֵי is rendered here by ܣܝܡܝ (likewise LXX, *ῥυθμοί*); but above, 5:6, the same word is translated ܐܝܠ.—חֲלָאִים is here rendered by ܣܝܡ, but in Prov. 25:12 ܣܝܡ and in Hos. 2:15 ܡܢܝܢܐ are used instead.

[1] Diettrich, *loc. cit.*, p. xix.

[2] "*Sunem* in tribu Issachar, et usque hodie vicus ostenditur nomine *Sulem*."—Lagarde, *Onom.*, 183, 284. There is an error in the Greek version Σουρήμ (*lege* Σουνήμ). See Harper, *Song of Solomon*, p. 47.

[3] Those who maintain that הַמַּחֲנָיִם cannot be the name of the town Mahanaim, as this never has the article, overlook the fact that here the word is in the genitive while the article is used to determine the *nomen regens*. See Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar*, sec. 127*a*, *b*. The phrase means "the dance of Mahanaim," and not, as the Jewish Publ. Soc. version gives, "dance of two companies." In Jeremiah the same place is called רָמָה (31:14) and הָרָמָה (40:1).

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3. הסחר is a word derived from the Syriac ܣܚܪ and translated in the Targum סיחרא. In S it is rendered not as being synonymous with ירה and לבנה,[1] but by ܫܘܪܟ ܐܓܢ ܗܓܠ=ܘܡܘܚ which does not convey the proper meaning of the word. Perhaps the translator read הסחר from the verb סחר?—הבזג is rendered in S by ܢ, ܫܠܐ ܝܚܣܪ ܒܘ ܗܡܙܓ=ܣܓܘ ܣܗ ܡܢ.—סוגה is correctly translated in S ܣܝܓ=ܘ ܗܣܘܓܗ.

4. After תאבי צביה S has the additional ܗܪܥܝܡ=ܘ ܕܡ ܣܡܣܡܢ בשושנים. Very likely the Hebrew text before the translator reproduced here the whole of 4:5.

5. The translator correctly rendered בחשבון by ܣܡܣܘ=ܘ ܫܠ ܚܫܒܘܢ. This proper name is queerly interpreted in Aquila, *ἐν ἐπιλογισμῷ*, which is rather surprising as the place was still in existence in Aquila's day.[2]—בת רבים, identified as the name of a gate in Ḥeshbon,[3] is rendered in S literally ܒܬ ܣܓܝܢ ܘ. Similarly the LXX *θυγατρὸς πολλῶν* and Vulgate *filiae multitudinis*. Though בת רבים might be a proper name, it may probably be better read with the Targum בֵּת=בֵּית. This word is three times written defectively on the Mesha Stone,[4] and accordingly would mean "the house of many."—For צופה פני S has ܩܒ ܘ=ܘ ܦܢ ܐܠ צופה; cf. above, verse 1.

6. For ודלת S has the plural ܣ.—According to S, ארגמן is to be taken here in the construct state with מלך and אסור as referring to ארגמן, for it has ܘ=ܘ ܡܠܟ ܕܐܪ. אַרְגְּמַן מלך So also does the Vulgate, *et comae capitis tui, sicut purpura regis vincta canalibus*. But most modern commentators prefer the reading of the Masoretic text which is followed in the LXX.—ברהטים is translated in S ܣܝ, which helps very little in explaining the Hebrew text.

[1] See Grätz, *Schir Haschirim*, etc., *ad loc.*

[2] "*Esebon* civitas Seon. . . . . Porro nunc vocatur *Esbus*."—Lagarde, *Onom.*, 151, 259. Aquila by the rabbinic interpretation of the name (see Cant. R. *ad loc.*) בחשבון מילי דחושבן ל"ד מזכין, ל"ה מחייבין with reference to the Synhedrion; cf. Reider in *JQR*, IV, 617 and 340, n. 48.

[3] See A. Jones, *The Proper Names of the Old Testament Scriptures* (London, 1856), p. 60.

[4] See Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. lxxxviii, and cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, sec. 7, 2 f.

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7. אהבה is rendered in ℵ by ܐܸܠ̈ܦ=אַלְפֵי. Likewise the Vulgate *charissima*.[1]—The Syriac rendering of בתענוגים must be explained in the light of the Masoretic rule governing the reading of Scripture. The rule is: Two words may often be written in a contracted form representing one word.[2] Thus in ℵ בתענוגים is divided into בת ענוגים=ܒܬ ܥܢܘܓ̈ܐ. So also Aquila *θυγάτηρ τρυφῶν*.[3] But LXX gives *ἐν τρυφαῖς σου*=בתענוגיך. The reading of ℵ and Aquila is accepted by many scholars, such as Dalman, Budde, and others, as superior to that of the Masoretic text.

8. For זאת ℵ has ܗ̇ܕܐ=וזאת.

9. For אמרתי ℵ correctly gives ܐܡܪ̈ܬ, but Ishodadh[4] has ܐܡܪ̈ܬ.—For אחזה ℵ has ܐܚܙ̈ܐ=ואחזה.—The emphatic נא is here omitted in ℵ, but see 3:2.

10. הולך is correctly rendered in ℵ by ܗ̇ܘ̈ܠܟ=ההולך.—For למישרים ℵ has here ܠܫܘܝ̈ܐ, but see above, 1:4.—דובב שפתי ישנים is a clause out of which many commentators endeavored to extract a good sense. The reading of ℵ, ܕܡ̈ܠ̈ܠ ܫ̈ܦ̈ܬ̈ܐ[5]= הַמְגִיעַ (?) שִׂפְתֵי וְשִׁנָּי, is accepted by Geiger[6] and is sustained by the LXX, *ἱκανούμενος χείλεσίν μου καὶ ὀδοῦσιν*. The Vulgate renders it in the third person, *labiisque et dentibus illius*. Of the ancient commentators, Jerome and Kimchi connect the word דובב with דבה, a calumny or evil rumor, or they may have read דובר or מדבר. But דובב has no connection with דבה, but is rather related to זב, and means "to go softly," hence the Syriac ܗ̇ܠ̈ܟ=ההלך "going softly," "gliding," etc. The Syriac translation which has the support of the other ancient versions is preferable to the Masoretic text.

11. תשוקתו is translated in ℵ ܬ̈ܫ̈ܘ̈ܩ̈ܬ̈ܐ, the same root used in the Syriac rendering of ואל אשך תשוקתך=ܘ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܫ̈ܟ ܬ̈ܫ̈ܘ̈ܩ̈ܬ̈ܟ in Gen. 3:16.

12. For לכה ℵ has ܐ̈ܙ=בא.—For התורה ℵ correctly gives ܠ̈ܬ̈ܘ̈ܪ̈ܐ=לתורה.—The plural בכפרים is rendered in ℵ in the singular ܒ̈ܟ̈ܦ̈ܪ=בכפר.

[1] Cf. Deut. 21:15.

[2] אלו כותבים דבר אחד וקוראים שנים. See מסכת סופרים, chapter 7.

[3] See Reider in *JQR*, IV (N.S.), 610.

[4] Diettrich, *loc. cit.*, p. xviii.

[5] ℵ= ܕ̈ܠ̈ܠ ܫ̈ܦ̈ܬ̈ܐ.

[6] *Urschrift*, etc., p. 405.

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13. For נשכימה ס has ونشكيمه=ונשכימה.—The plural לכרמים is rendered in ס as if it were in the singular لكرم=לכרם.—For פתח the Syriac translator read ופתח and rendered it وفتح.[1]—For the Syriac of הסמדר see our note on 2:13.—For הנצו ס gives وهكبو=והנצו.—דודי is rendered in ס by ܕܘܕ as if vocalized דַּדַי. So also in LXX; cf. our note on 1:2.

14. For מגדים ס has واقدمي, but some MSS read واصدمي.[2]—גם ישנים is rendered in ס by وحدتمي=וישנים.

CHAPTER VIII

1. יונק is rendered in ס by the Hiph'il واندمه=הניקו, though Cod. Uss. has واندمه.[3]—In אמי ס inserts the letter ר and thereby obtains the Aramaic אמרי (אמרא=כבש). Accordingly the passage would read: מי יתנך כאח לי הניקו שדי אמרי.—שָׁדַי is vocalized in ס שָׁדֵי.—For לא גם ס has ولا, cf. 7:14.—יבוז לי is rendered in ס by ونصغوننى, though the translator would have found many other expressions for this word; cf., e.g., 5:7; Prov. 6:30; 23:22.

2. For אביאך ס has ولكبر=ואביאך.—תלמדני: ס has omitted this word. In its place we find, however, ואל חדר הורתי, brought in from 3:4. So does also the LXX, *καὶ εἰς ταμεῖον τῆς συλλαβούσης με*. The Hebrew text is here suspicious and the commentators are not agreed as to who is to be the teacher, the דוד or the mother. The word תלמדני appears to have been obelized in the Hexapla, though found in the Vulgate. It is perhaps a marginal gloss and should be omitted from the Masoretic text. The reading of ס and LXX keeps the whole clause in harmony with the wish in verse 1, and can be accepted.—For מיין ס has مي سعنو=מייני.—For صسمدا, the Syriac translation of הרקח, cf. above, *ad* 2:14.—מעסיס is rendered in ס by مي سكمدا=ומעסיס. The same word is translated inexactly سعنا in Joel 1:5; 4:18; and Amos 9:13, but correctly rendered in Isa. 49:26 by صاوسدا. For רַמְּנֵי ס has ܪܡܢ as if it were vocalized רִמֹּנֵי. So also the Vulgate.

4. For the Syriac translation of השבעתי אתכם see above, *ad* 2:7.—This verse is a repetition of 2:7 and 3:5 with the difference

[1] For the use of this word see Heller, *Untersuchungen*, etc., p. 62.
[2] See Thorndyke's collation, p. 30. [3] *Ibid.*

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that instead of אם, we have here מה which in this place has been considered to be a negative.[1] Certainly this particle has almost this sense in Job 6:11; 16:6; and 31:1, where the interrogative מה is translated *οὐ* in the LXX and *non* in the Vulgate. Still there must be some reason for the substitution of מה for אם. S uses here ... ... as in 2:7; 3:5, though this passage does not, like those, require so absolute a prohibition.

5. עלה is correctly rendered in S by =העלה.—For מתרפקת S has =ומתרפקת.—For the first שמה S gives =ושמה.—חִבְלָתְךְ is correctly translated in S in the feminine. Likewise אִמֶּךָ = and יְלָדַתְךְ =. This practice of S to convert the masculine pronouns into feminine is followed by many commentators. Accordingly they should read עוררתיך, יְלָדַתֶךְ, אִמֵּךְ, חִבְלָתֶךְ. The question is one of vowels, as the consonantal text is the same for both readings, and in all probability the feminine suffixes are correct. For חבלה S has =חבלתך very likely by analogy to the preceding strophe, but $S^m$ follows the reading of the Masoretic text, =חבלה.

6. For the first כחותם S has =חותם,[2] but the second is rendered by =וכחותם.—For קשה S has =וקשה.—קנאה is translated, a word the use of which is also found in the talmudic טינא היתה בלבם (Hagigah 15*a*).—The phrase רשפיה רשפי is rendered in S by, though in other places where this phrase occurs the translator uses such expressions as, etc.[3]—According to Ben Naphtali, שַׁלְהֶבֶת יָהּ[4] are two words. The Masora of Ben Asher read שַׁלְהֶבְתָּיהּ one word (Baer, pp. 51, 83; Ginsburg, *Crit. Intr.*, p. 386). The Syriac rendering suits either reading. The LXX *φλόγες αὐτῆς* suggests a plural form שַׁלְהֶבֹתֶיהָ.

7. For כל S gives, but $S^m$ has.—בוז יבוזו לו is rendered in S by, for the meaning of which compare ימיקו ידברו ברע in Ps. 73:8.

[1] See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, sec. 137*b*, n. 1, and Grätz *ad loc.*

[2] The prepositions ב כ ל מ in Hebrew are often either omitted or placed where they are not absolutely needed. Sometimes they take the place of another letter. Hence the reading חותם for כחותם; see Heller, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

[3] Cf., e.g., Deut. 32:24; Hab. 3:5; Ps. 76:4; 78:48; Job 5:7, etc.

[4] Kennicott found this reading in 116 MSS and De Rossi in 114.

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9. טירת is rendered in 𝔖 by ܟܬܝ,[1] though in other places this word is rendered by such expressions as ܡܚܣܐ, ܡܟܢܣܐ, ܨܡܐ, etc.[2] לוחות ארז is rendered in 𝔖 in the plural ܠܘܚ̈ܐ ܕܐܪܙ̈ܐ=לוחות ארזים, but the reading of Bar Hebraeus, which is older and more correct, is in the singular, ܠܘܚܐ, and is supported by 𝔖$^{au}$.[3]

10. ושדי כמגדלות is rendered in 𝔖 by ܘܫܕ̈ܝ ܕܡܓܕܠ̈ܐ=ושדי מגדלות, a reading supported by 𝔊$^{B}$ and Vulgate. But for the omission of the letter כ see n. ad 8:6.

11. בעל המון is freely translated in 𝔖 by ܒܥܠ ܣܦ̈ܝܢ=ופריו רב. Similarly the Vulgate: *Vinea fuit pacifico in ea, quae habet populos.* Compare also Aquila, *ἐν ἔχοντι πλήθη*, and Symmachus, *ἐν κατοχῇ ὄχλου*.—For נתן 𝔖 has ܢܬܬ as if it were נתתי, and for יביא 𝔖 gives ܢܬܢ=נתן.

12. 𝔖 correctly renders את נטרים by ܠܢܛܪ̈ܝ=לְנֹטְרֵי; cf. above, *ad* 1:6.—פריו is rendered in 𝔖 without any possessive ending, ܦܪܝ.

13. היושבת is translated in 𝔖 ܕܝܬܒ̈ܐ=היושבים. So also Symmachus.—חברים is omitted in 𝔖, while for מקשיבים 𝔖 gives ܡܨܝ̈ܬܐ=ומקשיבים.—לקולך is in 𝔖 rendered by ܠܩܠܟ= לְקוֹלֵךְ. Accordingly the verse should read הַיּוֹשֶׁבֶת בַּגַּנִּים וּמַקְשִׁיבִים לְקוֹלֵךְ הַשְׁמִיעֵנִי.

14. ברח is rendered in 𝔖 by ܐܬܪ̈ܥܝ[4] (as סב in 2:17) instead of ܢܘܣ.—For ודמה 𝔖 has ܘܐܡܐ=וְדְמֵה.—או לעפר is rendered in 𝔖 by ܐܘ ܠܥܦܪ=ולעפר, but see 2:17.—הרי בשמים is translated in 𝔖 ܗܪ̈ܝ ܒܫܡ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܘܚ̈ܐ=הרי בשם. So also Theodotion, *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη δυμαμάτων*. See also our note on 2:17.

## CONCLUSION

In these notes on the Syriac text of the Song of Songs an endeavor was made to illustrate the departure of the Peshitta from the accepted vocalization, punctuation, and interpretation of single words in the Masoretic text. The exegetical method of the Peshitta as exemplified in phrases and sentences which sometimes receive a

[1] By a remarkable coincidence the editions 𝔖$^{wlhu}$ share in misspelling this word ܟܬܝ; cf. Göttsberger, *Bar Hebraeus*, etc., p. 104, n. 1, and see Rahlfs *ZATW*, Vol. 9 (1889), p. 163.

[2] See, e.g., the Syriac version of Num. 31:10 and Ps. 69:26.

[3] Cf. Rahlfs, *ZATW*, IX (1889), 166.

[4] Cod. Poc. reads ܐܬܪ̈ܥܝ, Uss. ܐܬ ܥܝ. See Thorndyke's collation, p. 30.

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singular treatment and yield a sense different from that transmitted to us by tradition was discussed. By way of summing up the material which is necessarily scattered in the notes, an effort will now be made to present the results which were arrived at in the course of the study of the Syriac text of the Song of Songs. It is believed they will be of some help in estimating the value of the Peshitta for the textual criticism of the Song of Songs.

The Syriac version of the Song of Songs is a literal rendition of the Hebrew text; but while literal, it is not slavish, and its style is smooth and flowing. Indeed, it is well done and compares well with many modern versions in respect to reproducing the exact meaning of the original. In this respect the Peshitta of the Song of Songs almost supersedes all other ancient versions of this book.[1]

When the translator here and there permits himself certain liberties, they are to be regarded either as products of the translator's insufficient knowledge of the richness of the Hebrew language (e.g., 1:3; 2:5; 4:1), or caused by the poverty in the vocabulary of the Syriac tongue and by its inability to reproduce the precise meaning of Hebrew poetic expressions,[2] and they may also be due to the possibility of the Peshitta having been made from a Hebrew text differing from that of the Masoretic (e.g., 1:4; 2:17; 7:3), for it actually presupposes a Hebrew original slightly differing from that now in our possession. In all cases where the Peshitta appears to have been made from a Hebrew text varying from the present Masoretic text it is important to examine carefully whether the ancient Hebrew text from which it was made, and which must have been much older

[1] To prove this assertion the following three examples will suffice: (*a*) 1:3: לריח שמניך טובים: *S.* ܠܡܫܚܢ ܕܡܫܬܚܢ; LXX, *καὶ ὀσμὴ μύρων σου ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἀρώματα* = וריח שמניך על כל בשמים. (*b*) 2:7: בצבאות או באילות: *S.* ܒܚܝܠ ܐܘ ܒܥܡܐ; LXX, *ἐν δυνάμεσι καὶ ἐν ἰσχύσεσι.* It evidently took צבאות and אילות not as plurals of צבי and אַיָל or אַיָל respectively, but rather as of צָבָא and אַיִל. The Vulg. which is so largely dependent upon the LXX here deviates from it. (*c*) 1:4: After נרוצה both the Hebrew and the Peshitta have הביאני, etc., while the LXX inserts it after *εἰς ὀσμὴν μύρων σου* = לריח שמניך; cf. also Vulg., *post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.* There are also cases where the LXX presents a better reading than the Peshitta; cf., e.g., 2:1, Hebrew אני, LXX Ἐγώ (likewise Vulg. *Ego*), but *S* ܐܢܐ = כְּמוֹ.

[2] See, e.g., 1:6; 2:1; 4:8. R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, p. 16: "On ne s'attendra pas à trouver dans leur productions poétiques les hautes envolées du lyrisme ni le charme naïf et captivant de l'épopée héroïque."

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than the earliest MSS we possess, was or was not more correct in those passages than the *textus receptus*.

It is an indisputable fact that in the printed text of the Peshitta words and even verses are not infrequently wanting. This has probably arisen from the worn and defective state of the MSS from which the text has been printed and the very few MSS which have been collated. That in many cases they arose chiefly from defects in the copies of the Syriac version which have been consulted, appears from the fact that in almost every instance, so far as our examination has extended, the omitted passage is preserved in one or all of the primary versions of the Bible. On the other hand, there are a number of passages concerning which we have no reason to suppose that the Hebrew original from which the Peshitta was made differed from our present Masoretic text. The translator has expressed, in language nearly, though not literally, corresponding to the Hebrew, the sense of the original. For it must be remembered that the Hebrew language is proverbially concise, and consequently not infrequently obscure. The Syriac translator, familiar with the Hebrew, sometimes conveys its sense more clearly and fully.

True, while the Peshitta seems to have been made from a text differing slightly from the received Hebrew text, it must not be overlooked that these differences mostly relate to matters of very little, if of any, consequence, sometimes making a passage clearer; and there are also places where the Peshitta presents a better reading than does the Masoretic text or explains a difficult word in the Hebrew text (e.g., 1:2; 2:17; 6:9). There are cases where the Syriac does not differ so much from the Masoretic text as a casual reference to that version might lead one to suppose. In some cases the difference is merely in the position of the pauses (cf. 7:6), or of vowel points (cf. 2:4), the Syriac words according with the Hebrew. However, in some cases a transposition of words is evident (cf. 2:5, 13). All this points to the fact that the Hebrew text used as basis for the Peshitta was entirely unvocalized.

Great liberties are taken in the Peshitta with the prefix ו. In some places where the Hebrew text does not have it the Peshitta presents it, and vice versa (e.g., 7:13; 8:14). Nor are Hebrew infinitives carefully treated in the Peshitta (cf. 6:11). while the

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interrogative מה תגידו לו in 5:8 is converted in the Peshitta into an imperative. Not infrequently does the Syriac Bible present a reading different from the Hebrew original, caused by a difference in the reading of vowels or the elimination of words found in the Hebrew text (e.g., 1:16) or the addition of words not represented in the Hebrew original (e.g., 4:16), which, of course, should not be attributed to the carelessness of the translator, but rather to the fact that his text may have differed from that now in our possession.

Most remarkable is the manner of the translator in rendering proper names. The Peshitta does not hesitate to translate such a name as שרון by the plural ܫܪ̈ܘܢ. Only such popular names as Jerusalem and Lebanon are correctly preserved in ס. There can be no question therefore that in this manner the Peshitta was influenced by LXX (e.g., 4:3,11). Very likely with the author of the Peshitta it was merely a matter of accuracy to translate whatever could be translated, which is not the case with the Targum. In the latter the allegorical motive, in a most exaggerated form, is exhibited particularly in the rendering of proper names.[1]

Again, in some places the Peshitta has unnecessary repetition of expressions (e.g., 5:1) which is undoubtedly due to the carelessness of the copyist rather than to the fault of the translator. An examination of MSS evidence shows this to be the case (see note on 5:1). On the other hand, the Peshitta omits one word in a sentence where the preceding passage closes with the plural of that word. Perhaps the translator regarded it as an unnecessary repetition, as in 4:14.

It was already pointed out that the author of the Peshitta allows himself certain liberties in the manner of his translation. Occasionally the translator endeavors to amend the text, while at other times he will render it very freely (e.g., 1:6), though as a whole the Peshitta is faithful to the Hebrew and in some places renders the original slavishly (e.g., 1:13). Very frequently the Syriac differs entirely from the Hebrew original. This may chiefly be noticed in passages of acknowledged difficulty. Thus it is quite remarkable to find a difficult Hebrew word rendered by a likewise difficult and

[1] Thus, e.g., כתרצה is rendered in the Targum by בזמן דצבוהך למעבד רעותי; for השולמית the Targum has כנשתא דישראל בחשבון is rendered in the Targum by וידעין למימני חושבני עבורין ומעברין וקבעין רישי ירחין ורישי שנין.

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unintelligible Syriac expression (e.g., 1:4). Again, in other places a false root determination is noticeable (e.g., 1:7).

Finally we must not overlook such deviations from the Hebrew text as the emendation of an absolute state with אח to the construct state (e.g., 1, 6); the use of a proper name in the singular where the Hebrew has a plural (e.g., 1:14), and vice versa (e.g., 2:2), and the real singular for such with a pronominal suffix of the first person (e.g., 5:2); the application of an actual plural suffix of the first person in the plural (e.g., 5:1). Likewise, the pronominal suffix of the second person for the third (e.g., 1:4); the pronominal suffix of the first person plural for the first person singular (e.g., 8:2), and the attachments of pronominal suffixes where they are absent from the Hebrew text (e.g., 8:5); the application of the first person plural for that of the third person (e.g., 1:3); the plural imperative for the singular (e.g., 1:7), and the conversion of a relative passage to that of a copulative one (e.g., 4:15); the attachment of the relative prefix where it is absent from the Masoretic text( e.g., 7:3), indicating the relative upon another name (e.g., 6:5); the dividing of one word into two parts,[1] etc.

Despite all these differences between the Masoretic text and that of the Peshitta, there can be no doubt that the Peshitta text of the Song of Songs was made from a Hebrew original differing but slightly from that now in our possession. Further evidence of this theory is found in the fact that some Hebrew words are preserved in the Syriac version. Thus, e.g., the Hebrew דודי, which the Greek renders by *ἀδελφιδός μου*, is translated in the Syriac text *dôd(j)* although it conveys a different meaning from that of the Hebrew word.

Though there is no room to doubt that the Peshitta was made directly from the Hebrew, yet there are many passages in which it exhibits a departure from our Hebrew text and agrees with the LXX (e.g., 1:6; 4:1–2). There are two theories about this; either the Syriac translator availed himself of the assistance of the LXX where he did not comprehend the Hebrew, or, which is more likely, that it is due to later ages having corrupted the Peshitta by consciously adopting some of the translations of the LXX.[2] In the case of the Song of

[1] See, e.g., 7:7 and cf. our note *ad loc.*

[2] See our discussion of the "Influence of the Greek Bible on the Peshitta," in *AJSL*, XXXVI (January, 1920), pp. 161–66.

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Songs the agreements of the Peshitta with LXX against the Masoretic text may be due to the fact that the Hebrew MSS used for LXX were of the same nature as those used for the Peshitta, having been entirely unvocalized and written *in continuo*. The differences in the texts are to be found in comparatively few places and these are mostly due to false word divisions or incorrect vowel readings. Hence no influence of LXX can be pointed to. Of the few (about twelve) places where the Peshitta agrees with LXX against the Masoretic text five only can, more or less, be considered as possible, but no absolute conviction can be derived from them.

As a whole the Peshitta, as a version, is quite good. In its word arrangements it agrees, with but a few exceptions, with the Masoretic text. While the translation is not a servile one, it is nevertheless true to the original. Additions are very few, and in most cases they are borrowed from parallel places. The omissions are hardly worth while mentioning. Only one passage is paraphrased (7:11) while the Peshitta suffers in several places from corruption.

What, then, is its value for the textual criticism of the Song of Songs? Since the Peshitta is a servile version, the translator, allowing himself certain occasional liberties, particularly in difficult places, while in other places corrupted readings are transmitted, it must be used with great care in the criticism of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. Only in cases where the Peshitta reading is difficult, or cannot be explained other than as a diversion from the Masoretic text, or when its reading is attested by other evidence (LXX, Aq., Sym., Theod., Vulg., and MSS) can it be utilized profitably for the criticism of the Masoretic text. The Peshitta is in most cases rather a favorable witness for the Masoretic text than its critic. Cornill's conclusion regarding the Syriac text of Ezekiel[1] is equally applicable to that of the Song of Songs:

> Aus allem dem geht hervor, dass 𝔖 als Zeuge für die alttestamentliche Textkritik nur mit der grössten Vorsicht zu benützen ist. Doch thut das ihrem hohen Werthe keinen Eintrag; für die exegetische Tradition ist sie ein Hauptzeuge, und dabei bietet sie uns doch eine Anzahl von wirklich guten Lesarten.

[1] *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig, 1886), p. 156.

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# Critical Notes

## THE AMORITE FORM OF THE NAME ḪAMMURABI

In *JAOS*, XXXVII, 250–53, Luckenbill has solved the long-puzzling question of the original west-Semitic name of the great Babylonian king. As he has seen, the variant writings *Ammura-PI*, *Ammurabi*, *Ḫammurabi*, *Ḫammura-PI*, *Ḫammurabiḫ* (cf. for the variations Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, p. 113, n. 4, on pp. 113–15) can only be explained on the basis of an original *ʿAmmu-rawiḫ* (ʿ). That the second element in the name is *rawiḫ* and not *rawiʿ*, or the like, is established by the Babylonian translation *kimta rapaštum*, "the family [clan] is extended." Luckenbill, however, did not happen to recall any parallels to this meaning for a proper name; the parallels show that it is perfectly regular. In South Arabian inscriptions, e.g., Halévy, 349, the regular expression for "extend (power, influence, number, territory) of a tribe or people" is *hrwḫ*, *harwaḫ*, causative of *ráwiḫ*, "be extended." Exactly the same idea is found in the Hebrew name Rehoboam, *Reḥabʿam*, "He has extended the people." In Assyrian inscriptions the phrases *kimta ruppušu*, *zêra ruppušu*, etc., are frequent: Rassam Cylinder, I, 27 ff., we read *ašar Aššuraḫiddin kimtu urappišu*, "where Esarhaddon extended the family"; Pinches, *Texts*, 16, No. 4, has *zêrusu lirappiš-ma lišamʾidu nannabšu*, "May he extend his seed, and make his progeny numerous."

Unfortunately, Hommel's idea that the element *ʿamm* in a proper name means not "people" but *ʿAmm*, as the name of a hypothetical god, has become very popular, and is still creating much unfortunate confusion regarding the proper explanation of a whole group of proper names. I fail to see a shred of valid evidence for the view that *Ab* in proper names means "divine father" or that *ʿAmm* means "divine uncle"; names like *Abî-ilu*, "god is my father," are quite different, while *Elîʿam* and *ʿAmmîʾel* mean respectively, "The people is my god," and "My people is god," names which indicate the hypostatization of the spirit of the people, like the Latin *Roma*. From another angle these names appear as the culmination of the tendency to honor the people or tribe which is found in such proper names as *ʿAmmîditân* and *ʿAmmî-ṣadûq*, also of kings of the First Dynasty, and meaning respectively "My people is mighty," and "My people is righteous." The corresponding Greek proper names (as well as Teutonic in *Lut-*, etc.) are individualistic rather than socialistic in type: cf. Menelaus, "Cherishing the people," and Arcesilaus, "Defending the people"; Laomedon, "The one who rules among the people"; and Laodicus, "The one who judges the



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people." In conclusion it should be observed that the development "uncle" for *ʿamm* is specifically Arabic, and due solely to a misunderstanding of the expression *ibnʿamm*, "son of the clan, cousin," after *ʿamm*, "people," had become obsolete, being replaced by *ahl*, *qaum*.

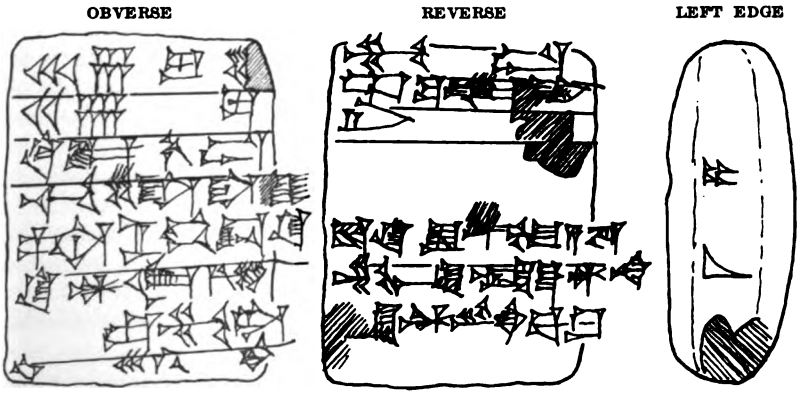
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## LISHANUM, PATESI OF MARAD

I bought the following tablet from a little Arab boy in the ruins of Babylon, April 2, 1920.




Obverse: [1]30+6 udu nitáḫ [2]20+8 udu [3]šá-dug kud-du [4]bal li-šá-num pa-te-si AMAR-DA[ki] [5]ki [d]dun-gi-uru-mu ta [6]ud 30-LAL-1 kám.

Reverse: [1]mu-tum [2]ab-ba-šag-ga [3]ni-[. . .] [4]itu ki-sig [d]nin-a-zu [5]mu en-maḫ-gal an-na en [d]nannar ba-túg.

Left edge: 60+4.

"Thirty-six fat sheep, twenty-eight sheep, the regular offering ⌜assessed as the tax of⌝ Lishanum Patesi of Marad, from Dungiurumu, on the twenty-ninth day, ⌜as a contribution⌝, Abbashagga [receiv]ed. Month Kisig-Ninazu, year when the great high priest of Anna ⌜appointed⌝ the priest of Nannar" (fourth year of Bur-Sin). Docket on the left edge: "Sixty-four."

Keiser, Patesis of the Ur Dynasty, page 29, lists only one occurrence of the name Lishanum: Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, 5504, III, 17, where Lishanum is mentioned as patesi of an unnamed city in the fifth year of Bur-Sin. We now learn that he was patesi of Marad in the fourth year of Bur-Sin.

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# Book Reviews

## ORIGIN OF CIVILIZATION*

**Phéniciens:* Essai de contribution à l'histoire antique de la Méditerranée. Par C. AUTRAN. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1920. Small folio, pp. xv and 146. Fr. 30.

This was not an easy book to write and it is far from being an easy book to review; for it involves a survey of the whole ancient history of the Near East, including much of Greece also. The work is done with that refinement of literary quality which we have come to expect as a matter of course from a Frenchman of letters. It displays fine taste, a charming style, and a very engaging spirit of frankness and intellectual rectitude quite evident in the opening words of the Preface: "Ceci est une œuvre 'de bonne foy.' Je ne cherche ni à étonner ni à contredire, mais seulement à me convaincre et à m'instruire." But the author is not unmindful of the serious nature of the task he has undertaken, for he continues: "Aussi ne dissimuleraije point que vingt ans de recherches et la pratique de la plupart des langues usitées dans l'antiquité, de l'Inde à la Méditerranée, m'ont amené à une conception de l'histoire ancienne assez differente, sous plusieurs rapports, de celle qui a prévalu jusqu'ici."

M. Autran's reconstruction of the course of human development from prehistoric times down through the entire pre-Hellenic age and far into Greek times is indeed new and revolutionary. The main contentions of his book are four (though the author himself does not wholly disengage and treat them separately): (1) that the original source and center of pre-Hellenic civilization in the Near East were in Asia Minor, specifically in Cappadocia; (2) that this earliest culture of inner Asia Minor, styled by the author "Asianic," was subsequently gradually diffused throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and the adjacent lands as far east as Mesopotamia, thus becoming a far-reaching Aegeo-Caro-Cilician-Mycenaean-Phoenician civilization, and that this diffusion was due to *migrations* of the primitive Cappadocians themselves; (3) that the non-Semitic creators and carriers of this civilization therefore *colonized* Palestine and Syria, where they were the real Canaanites and Phoenicians, who were originally non-Semitic; (4) that the Semitic Phoenicians were late intruders who merely inherited the high culture of their non-Semitic Aegeo-Caro-Cappadocian predecessors and then at once fell into decay.

In support of these revolutionary conclusions the author marshals a formidable array of evidence, the great bulk of which is etymological. The



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volume furnishes therefore a very useful discussion of words in Greek which seem to be of non-Greek origin—the more useful because all such words, indeed all ancient words and proper names discussed by the author, are fully indexed at the end of the book. The other chief body of evidence consists of the statements which the author has garnered from Greek literary sources of every sort, with which he displays an enviable familiarity. The book also makes some use of archaeological evidence, especially that collected in Père Vincent's monumental *Canaan;* and the author endeavors to show that the archaeological remains also support his reconstruction.

This exceedingly interesting essay of M. Autran thus forces us to take a far-reaching account of stock and to make a searching re-examination of our current general conclusions regarding the course of history in the Near East down to the advent of the Greeks and later. We shall be able to do this best by proceeding from the known to the unknown, or from the imperfectly known to the almost entirely unknown, that is, to begin with the chronologically *latest* of M. Autran's processes, which we have enumerated above as the third and fourth, according to which the Phoenicians and Canaanites were non-Semitic Aegeo-Cappadocians, succeeded only at a late date by the Semitic Phoenicians and Canaanites.

For the sake of clearness we will call M. Autran's original Phoenicians, as he often does, "Aegeo-Phoenicians." The first body of evidence adduced is etymological. For example, in the conversation between Ulysses and the swineherd (*Odyssey*, xv. 417 ff.) we find mentioned a Phoenician named Ἀρύβας. M. Autran (p. 66) contends that this name is neither Semitic nor Greek, but is to be connected with a group of names beginning with Αρ found among the Carians, Lycians, Lydians, and Cilicians on the one hand, and on the other appearing in Old Testament geographical names like *Arumah* and *Araunah*, or *ʾArbaʿ* the name of the giant of the Anakim (Josh. 14:15), whom our author would identify with the swineherd's Phoenician, Arybas. Similarly, "les Philistins viennent de Cappadoce, où leur dieu Dagon paraît, d'ailleurs, avoir laissé sa trace." This trace, as we are told in a footnote, is the name of the Cappadocian town Δάγωνα. After presenting a large body of evidence of this character the author concludes that the etymology of the proper names alone establishes the "Caro-Lycian nationality" of the Canaanite peoples and adds, "C'est là, semble-t-il, un argument decisif" (p. 79). Nevertheless, with his usual engaging frankness, the author admits (p. 81) that these coincidences do not of a surety furnish "une démonstration régulière." Most historical students will without doubt share the author's misgivings at this point.

More substantial historical witnesses are then summoned to testify, and in the author's opinion they show that "the Phoenicians and Canaanites were groups of the same Asianic race, whose destinies are intimately united to those of the Aegeo-Mycenaean civilization which was theirs" (p. 75.) Again, after recalling that in Greek times Asia Minor was strong in "history

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and philosophy," our author says: "The Phoenicians are, then, without doubt, a people of Asia Minor, for a unanimous tradition accords them an incontestable priority in all these domains" (p. 52), viz., "history and philosophy." Furthermore, there is an explicit statement in Athenaeus that Caria was once called Phoenicia (p. 53), a bit of evidence which goes back to Corinna and Bacchylides, that is, as far as the sixth century B.C. Historically it would seem that this bit of evidence could only be interpreted as indicating the strength of Semitic Phoenician control or colonization which once extended into Caria. This conclusion would also fit in very well with the author's next item of evidence. Herodotus, says our author, indicates that the ancestry of Thales was Phoenician. Evidence of a much later date follows, and the conclusion is, "The Phoenicians were, then, Carians in origin" (p. 55). Perhaps most of us would rather interpret this evidence more cautiously as showing that *some* of the inhabitants of Caria were Phoenicians. On the basis of Greek literature, reaching no farther back than the sixth century B.C. and most of it far later in date, the author determines the origins of a people who are shown by contemporary evidence of the Egyptian monuments to have been in Syria in the first half of the third millennium B.C. We cannot but ask, What could Herodotus or any other Greek of the literary age know of the beginnings of a people who appear in the Egyptian documents as already in Syria fifteen hundred or more years before the Greeks had learned to write?

Herein lies the weakness of this reconstruction, that it is based so largely on Greek literary documents dating from a time literally thousands of years later than the historical movements under discussion. For if the Phoenicians are to be traced back to Asia Minor, it is evident their migration thence took place at a period so remote that no possible memory of it could be expected in Greek tradition, which failed to preserve any definite recollections back of the Trojan War and the outgoing Mycenaean age. Where in Greek tradition is the slightest echo of their own early northern pastoral life before they migrated southward to the Mediterranean? How much less will they have known anything of far earlier chapters in the life of another and a relatively distant people of Asia!

To this objection the archaeological evidence adduced is not open. It is, however, open to another, equally fatal. Metal-work and pottery and decorative patterns do not demonstrate the *race* of their makers. Vincent's fine summary of Canaanite archaeology proves beyond a doubt the deep impression made by Aegean civilization in Syria. It was a priori to be expected. The interfusion of neighboring cultures is a universal phenomenon, and we cannot expect Syria and the Aegean to be any exception. The wares of the Aegean craftsmen were widely distributed in Syria and Palestine, and without doubt some Aegean merchants may have found their way into the market towns of Phoenicia; but that is very far from making Aegeans of the historic Phoenicians. They may even have begun to copy

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Aegean wares, for such imitation was characteristic of the Phoenicians, but this again has no bearing on the racial question.

With his customary intellectual frankness, the author manfully confronts one outstanding archaeological difficulty (pp. 76–78): Why have no written monuments of the hypothetical non-Semitic "Aegeo-Phoenicians" survived to bear witness of them in Syria? He finds the explanation of this difficulty in Herodotus, who states (v. 58) that at a time when the papyrus was scarce the Phoenicians wrote on the skins of goats and sheep. In the perishable nature of the writing material, then, our author would find the reason for the complete lack of written documents surviving from his "Aegeo-Phoenicians." Contemporary evidence some seven hundred years older than Herodotus, however, might have been adduced; for the Egyptian envoy Wenamon of the late twelfth century B.C. carried a considerable consignment of five hundred rolls of papyrus to a Phoenician prince.

But the question arises: Are we in fact so entirely without written documents from the great age of these alleged "Aegeo-Phoenicians"? The author finds the causes for their fall involved in two historic events: the fall of Troy and the Hebrew migration into Palestine (pp. 63 f. and 122), and he would date the incoming of the Semitic Phoenicians, who displaced them, in the period from 1200 to 1000 B.C. (p. 58). The Amarna Letters, dating from the first half of the fourteenth century B.C., are contemporary with the great age of the "Aegeo-Phoenicians," when according to our author these non-Semitic people held Canaan and Phoenicia, or Palestine-Syria. Yet of these three hundred letters the great majority were written by the kings and rulers of Palestine-Syria *in a Semitic tongue*, and these rulers, together with their peoples and their towns, *bear Semitic names*. This is especially true of the cities of Phoenicia from whose rulers the Amarna correspondence contains a long series of letters. In view of these facts, based on contemporary evidence, it is inconceivable that a non-Semitic population should have been dominant in these regions for centuries preceding 1200 B.C. Moreover, it is a fair question to ask why we should so exhaustively question a late Greek onomasticon when we have *contemporary* documents like the Amarna Letters in cuneiform besides the long lists of Syrian-Palestinian towns in Egyptian? But strangely enough, the Amarna Letters, which are absolutely fundamental to the discussion of the questions raised in this volume, are referred to but once in a minor connection (p. 112), and its decisive lists of proper names are never mentioned.

As we examine the evidence for the earlier stages of the "Aegeo-Phoenician" colonization of Phoenicia, we find that the events and the evidence adduced are still farther apart. The first migration of the "Aegeo-Phoenicians" was to Tyre and Sidon (p. 85). The only support brought forward is Genesis, chapter 10, and the Greek myths. The date for this alleged migration does not seem to be mentioned anywhere by the author, but it is

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evidently far too remote, as conceived by him, to be demonstrated by the evidence mentioned. No examination of contemporary evidence is offered.

Turning now to the shift of this ancient "Cappadocian" culture and population from Asia Minor to the Aegean and the countries adjacent, we find that the author identifies his Aegeo-Caro-Cilician Phoenicians or Cappadocians with the well-known "Minoan" Cretans of Knossos and the other Cretan centers, and states that they possessed all the characteristics of "la belle race caucasienne" (p. 82). The evidence for this diffusion of Asia Minor population is again really evidence for the dissemination of *culture* rather than the migration of a people. It is drawn from Greek tradition (p. 93) and concerns the outgoing and declining stages of Aegean history, with no light on the situation before 1000 B.C. (p. 94). The lack of dates in the discussion renders it difficult to follow the argument. The migration of the Cappadocians is conceived by the author in successive waves at least three in number (p. 97), the most ancient of which was subdivided into three different "courants principaux," one of which passed into Mesopotamia; a second "by way of Egypt and North Africa [*sic*] penetrated into the Mediterranean," while the third is the one which reached Phoenicia-Canaan—the one which we have already discussed. The author frankly admits that "the paucity of our sources renders the diffusion of this most ancient wave very difficult to follow." Nevertheless, he uses good and contemporary evidence for the "current" that passed into Mesopotamia. Cuneiform documents of the twenty-third century B.C., found in Cappadocia, have indeed long made evident the connection with Mesopotamia; and that Hittite influences had much to do in shaping the early history of Assyria can hardly be doubted. It is again what we could hardly fail to expect.

The author at first claims only "Asiano-Aegean *influence*" (not migration) in Egypt. No one can doubt it after the fifteenth century B.C., when there was a diffusion of culture influences between Crete and Egypt in both directions; but the contention of this book is that Egypt owed to this "Asiano-Aegean influence" the origins of civilization. But the relative chronology is decisive in this question. At about 2000 B.C. Aegean civilization had reached a point attained by Egypt in the middle of the fourth millennium. The Aegeans gained metal about 3000 B.C.; it was used in Egypt over a thousand years earlier. The author cites the Pyramid Texts, the oldest Egyptian literature, to show that the Egyptians had knowledge of the Aegeans (pp. 100–101). Surely we could not expect it to be otherwise, with the Egyptians coursing the Mediterranean in the earliest known sailing ships in the thirtieth century B.C. After the Pyramid Texts (third and fourth millenniums B.C.) it is a little bewildering to be shifted abruptly to the Old Testament and Herodotus, both some millenniums later than the events they are expected to prove. Old indeed is the evidence of domesticated grains, but wheat and barley, as shown by surviving specimens

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from prehistoric burials, were being grown in Egypt in the fifth millennium B.C.; and who will venture to claim knowledge of the culture of Asia Minor at that remote date? In the discussion of these things we find the long current legend of Egyptian indifference to the sea still functioning as evidence without reference to the facts (p. 106). The contemporary monuments of Egypt, beginning in the thirtieth century B.C., make it quite obvious where we are to find the origins of salt-water navigation. Besides the fleets of Snefru in the thirtieth century, they show us those of Sahure in the twenty-eighth, of the Pepi's in the twenty-sixth, and the long series of voyages on the Red Sea from the twenty-seventh to the nineteenth century B.C.—all maritime ventures of the Pharaohs enormously earlier than those of any other people known. At the same time the fact seems to be generally overlooked that a Theban tomb painting not later than the fifteenth century B.C., long ago published by Daressy, displays several Syrian ships at their moorings *in the Nile*, manned by bearded Semites, wearing characteristic Syrian costumes. Ashore some of the same Syrians are trading in the Egyptian bazaars. It is quite evident that we have here Semitic Phoenician traders landing and trafficking exactly as described by Herodotus. But the decisive point is that their ships are exact models of Egyptian sea-going ships, shown in the reliefs of Sahure as far back as the twenty-eighth century B.C.

Nevertheless, our author advances a step farther and claims the existence of an Aegean colony in Egypt (p. 108) as far back as the Old Kingdom in the first half of the third millennium—a colony which introduced copper, bronze, and the cereals, although these things were known in Egypt at least a thousand years earlier than the date of their appearance in the Aegean. In view of these facts we find ourselves bewildered by the remark (p. 87) that the "Asiano-Aegeans" brought "movement and organization" to a childhood world—a childhood world which had built the pyramids of Gizeh, the greatest monuments ever erected by ancient man, at a time when the Aegeans were just emerging from the Stone Age!

Finally we may notice the author's primary contention that Asia Minor was the original "pre-Hellenic" center of culture, in other words, the cradle of civilization (p. 95). Racially the originators and bearers of this earliest known civilization are confidently affirmed to be Caucasian, for the author avers that the Aegeans brought in "this same Caucasian element, Tyrsenians, Hittites, Syrians, or their relatives, which we know to have been in the entire Mediterranean the active agent of the international exchanges" (p. 109). He refers to it as a "superior element descended from the Caucasus" (p. 87), so that he means a people actually and immediately derived from the Caucasus. But it is clear from the sculptured monuments of Asia Minor that there were at least two racially distinct types among the peoples we call Hittite. The cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui have likewise disclosed a group of probably seven dialects. Moreover, it can be positively

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demonstrated that the short-headed Alpine type, so evidently that of the old Hittites, cannot be the same racially as that of the Aegeans.

But our author is equally confident on other difficult problems involved in this complicated situation, including the social organization of these earliest "Caucasians." Their society is described as feudal (p. 86), a character which the author frequently mentions, although it is evident that the period when they were still occupying their Cappadocian home lies far back of any adducible evidence. We are here in a world of pure fantasy. Indeed, with his characteristic frankness the author states (p. 95) that "a history, properly so called, of the Cappadocian tribes hardly commences for us until toward the fifteenth century B.C."[1] One cannot forbear the question, How is it possible to demonstrate that a country whose history begins for us in the fifteenth century B.C. (over two thousand years later than that of Egypt, and almost as much later than that of Babylonia) was the original seat of civilization? *When* this civilization arose is nowhere stated in terms of years B.C., but it is alleged to have brought in three things which did not before exist in the Mediterranean world: wheat, oil, and wine. Now the first of these, as we have stated before, was cultivated in Egypt in the fifth millennium, and the second in the fourth, and we must again remark that it is a bold investigator who will affirm what was happening in Asia Minor at those remote dates. Indeed, it is quite clear that the early culture of Asia Minor was always inferior to that of Babylonia and Egypt until Greek times. Equally evident is the fact that the early stages of civilization in Asia Minor were later, and very much later, than those of Egypt and Babylonia.

The author has again demonstrated with conclusiveness that the Greek world was early profoundly influenced by the older cultures of Asia Minor, and his demonstration is accompanied by a very able and exceedingly useful survey of the surviving proper names, which he has used with great skill and effectiveness. While the reconstruction he presents is strong and sound for archaic Greek times, the same direction of the tide of cultural influences cannot be upheld for the pre-Hellenic age. The archaeological evidence demonstrates clearly that for over fifteen hundred years after some 3000 B.C., the mainland both of Europe and Asia lagged behind the Aegean Islands in culture advance, and while traces of Asiatic influence may be found in early Crete probably in the third millennium B.C., the dominant civilization is clearly in the Aegean and not on the mainland. A very simple principle applies here, viz., that between two neighboring peoples culture diffusion is

[1] In this connection the author's statement that at this date we meet the Hittite kings fighting with the great Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty must be due to some misapprehension. None of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings carried on war with the Hittites. On the contrary, the Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs received gifts from the Hittite rulers, and the Egyptian war with the Hittites did not begin until the Nineteenth Dynasty, which is doubtless what the author had in mind.

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reciprocal and in both directions, no matter which civilization is the superior and leader. But the mere fact that "people B" has made contributions to the life of "people A" is no good ground for concluding that "people B" is superior in civilization to "people A." Otherwise the presence of potatoes, Indian corn, and tobacco in Europe would demonstrate thecultural superiority of the American savages over the peoples of Europe who received these things from America. It is exactly the failure to heed this obvious principle which has made possible the recent wide currency of a similar hypothesis which would find the original cradle of civilization in a vaguely defined upper Euphrates country (mostly desert!) called in cuneiform records Amurru and identified with the land of the Biblical Amorites.

In conclusion the reviewer is unable to see any reason for changing or even modifying the now dominant view regarding the course of pre-Hellenic culture—the view which finds the rise of earliest civilization quite obviously on the Nile, whence it was diffused through the Eastern Mediterranean, while but slightly later a related culture rose on the lower Tigris and Euphrates, the two forming an Egypto-Babylonian culture complex, which, developing in the intercontinental region of Africa and Eurasia as the earliest nucleus of civilization in the career of man, gradually radiated in all directions through the outlying continental areas, and especially through the Mediterranean, whence our own culture has chiefly descended to us. Some six thousand years later, in a significantly analogous geographical position in the intercontinental region between the two Americas, the *Western* Hemisphere had brought forth another center of radiating culture influences which was crushed by the Spanish invasion. These two primitive centers of culture on the two hemispheres (quite obviously the only two original sources of civilization on the globe) show us pretty clearly where we must look for the earliest germs of civilization in the genial climatic conditions bordering on the tropics, and not in the rigors of mountainous regions like Asia Minor.

For a most interesting and suggestive book, charmingly written, all readers will be greatly indebted to M. Autran; and if his general conclusions differ fundamentally from those of the reviewer, nevertheless the volume has distinct value in many respects—not least in the wide range of other possibilities which it suggests—possibilities so attractively presented that they force us to a searching re-examination of our evidence and our conclusions regarding the origins of civilization and their relation to the rise of Greek culture.[1]

JAMES H. BREASTED

[1] The reviewer has noticed a small number of philological matters which might be corrected in a future edition. On p. 35 see Παρθένος (three times). The author has a fondness for the Hebrew *toledah* for "genealogy" (pp. 44, 101), but it should be noted that this word occurs in Hebrew *only in the plural*, and a "généalogie biblique" is always *toledoth*, never *toledah*. The absolute form of the Canaanite pillars is מַצֵּבוֹת, not מָצֵבוֹת (p. 61). In the hieroglyphic on p. 72 the sign for *rwd* should be *w'*; and on p. 100, there is no hieroglyphic word *rer* meaning "circular"; this old reading has been shown to be properly *p̱r*. On p. 66 the transliteration of the Canaanite *'rb'* should be *ʾAruba*ᶜ, not *ᶜAruba*ᶜ.

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## Personalia

The assyriological library of the late Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., D.D., has been presented by his express desire to Queen's College, Cambridge, where it is available for use by students visiting Cambridge. The library comprises a mass of MSS, notes, etc., in addition to the large number of books, some of which are now out of print, and therefore unattainable for foreign students who have not yet formed their assyriological libraries.

The fraternity of biblical and Semitic scholars has lost an ardent, industrious, prolific, and genial comrade in the death of Dr. John P. Peters in New York City on November 10, 1921, in his sixty-ninth year. After taking his A.B. and Ph.D. at Yale in 1873 and 1876 respectively, he enjoyed, what was then a rare privilege, four years' residence as research student in the universities of Berlin and Leipzig (1879–83). During his professorship in Old Testament Language and Literature in the Protestant Episcopal Divinity School of Philadelphia (1884–91), and his professorship of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania (1885–93), Dr. Peters in 1888–95 was conductor and director of an expedition of the University of Pennsylvania to Babylonia, which carried on extensive excavations at Nippur. This campaign was successful in bringing to light and to the museum of the university many thousands of invaluable documents from nearly all periods of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian history. The explorer's experiences, methods, and life in the trenches are entertainingly told in the Director's two volumes, *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates* (1897).

In the field of the Old Testament, Dr. Peters has produced several volumes that have immediately commended themselves to the attention of Bible students everywhere. His training, indefatigable industry, and productivity gave him an important place in the field of progressive conservative scholarship, as seen in his choice as Lecturer on the Bross Foundation at Lake Forest College during the last school year. His theme was "The Bible and the Spade." The range of his scholarship is evidenced by his selection as permanent lecturer on the New Testament at the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. From first to last Dr. Peters' life among the men of his day was full of activities for the best things in the realms of thought and research that contribute to the development and dissemination of biblical knowledge.



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# Short Notices

SCHNEIDER, DR. ANNA, *Die Anfänge der Kulturwirtschaft. Die sumerische Tempelstadt.* G. D. Baedeker, Essen, 1920. 120+vi pages.

The publication of sources is always to be encouraged, but an effort should also be made to keep up with these published sources. In our cuneiform studies we have been too apt to think of the texts as an end in themselves, instead of regarding them as a means to the understanding of the history—political, social, economic, and religious, of the Ancient Orient. Kohler and Ungnad, Contenau, Genouillac, and others have made a good start in the right direction, but much remains to be done. Many more detailed studies of particular phases of the ancient civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates valley should be undertaken. Such a study, intended for a circle of readers which should extend well beyond the small group of specialists in cuneiform research, is that of Dr. Anna Schneider. Here an effort has been made to translate the documents, not into a modern language, but into a living picture of "the Sumerian Temple-city." One does not need to agree with every interpretation offered in order to express one's appreciation of the patience and skill the author has shown in the performance of her task.

D. D. LUCKENBILL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

M. NAVILLE, *L'évolution de la langue égyptienne et les langues sémitiques.* Paris: Geuthner, 1920.

M. Naville in his latest book sees successive "somersaults" of language and writing in Egypt, which lead him to look for a parallel situation in Hither Asia. On his interpretation the earliest Egyptian language, written in hieroglyphic and hieratic, was suddenly supplanted by a simplified quasi folk-language, the demotic, for which a new and much conventionalized script had been invented; and this in turn was supplanted by the real folk-language, the Coptic in its various dialects, requiring a third system of writing, procured this time by taking over the Greek alphabet. In Asia, meantime, the cuneiform was replaced by Aramaic, here taken to be "not the property of a people, but a phase of evolution quite analogous to the demotic (p. viii), except that the latter took a second step when it adopted Greek letters. The corresponding second step in Asia the author would find in the rise of the "dialect of Jerusalem," attaining written form in the square Hebrew characters "at the epoch of the Christian era."

So abrupt a succession of linguistic phenomena is of course opposed to common experience, according to which new developments grow regularly out of what has gone before. The treatment of the Egyptian language, from which the discussion starts, is thoroughly reactionary; M. Naville frankly states that "it is impossible" for him "to abandon the old grammar, that of de Rougé and Renouf" (p. 79). Almost half of his book aims to rehabilitate this and to confound the modern conception of Egyptian, which is so unfortunate as to have originated and been largely developed in Berlin. In bringing out the supposed Asiatic parallels it is sought to show that the Hebrew Old Testament is a translation from Aramean. While his theses involve misinterpretations of fact and can scarcely be accepted, M. Naville is to be honored for his pioneering on an unbeaten path.

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MASON, WILLIAM A., *A History of the Art of Writing.* New York: Macmillan, 1920.

Mr. William A. Mason's recent book, "*A History of the Art of Writing,*" is handsomely printed and illustrated, and offers a very readable presentation of its subject. The various stages of thought-indication are taken up in roughly genetic order. Crude non-phonetic methods, beginning with gestures, knots, etc., are shown progressing via the picturing of ideas to the expression of sounds, culminating in the invention of the alphabet. The invention of printing is seen as the latest advance, with a prospect for still further progress in typography. So comprehensive a task as Mr. Mason's has not, so far as the reviewer has noticed, been undertaken since Faulmann's *Illustrirte Geschichte der Schrift* was published in Vienna in 1880. The field covered is so vast—extending from Mexico and the American Indians to China, the Euphrates, and the Nile—that it is only natural to find the author largely dependent upon others for his data. Books and articles consulted are listed in a bibliography of about two hundred titles, of which only a dozen are later than 1907. Hence the point of view adopted is often much older than even that date. A checking of the various chapters by competent specialists before publication might have gone far toward eliminating slips that now shake the reader's confidence. Even so, one can but congratulate both Mr. Mason and his publisher on the attractive result of their efforts.

T. GEORGE ALLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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RUFFER, SIR ARMAND, *Food in Egypt.* Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1919.

Sir Armand Ruffer, dying in 1917, left among his papers much recently gathered material on the foods of ancient Egypt. Though not in what would have been its final form, this has been collected by his widow and made available by the Institut d'Égypte as the first volume of its *Mémoires.* Sir Armand's notes have been arranged in four chapters, covering respectively animal, cereal, fruit and vegetable foods. Besides direct human consumption, mention is made of the uses of individual foods as offerings to deities and likewise of the mythological significance of various creatures. Chronological attributions of data have wisely been limited almost entirely to dynasties rather than given in years. Such year dates as have slipped in on page 69 seem, though evidently in confusion, to be based on Brugsch's avowedly makeshift scheme published in 1877. The questioned existence of an ancient hornless breed of cattle (p. 2) is settled by Lortet and Gaillard,[1] who have actually published photographs of Eleventh-Dynasty skulls of that type. Use of the Book of the Dead as an authority has led the author (p. 53) to look in vain in this world instead of the next for a barley species "7 cubits (12 feet) in height." His sources included besides this and other ancient Egyptian texts[2] excavators' reports, modern zoölogical and botanical studies, the Bible, and most especially the classical authors. The picture is fullest, then, for Graeco-Roman times; but the mixture of non-synchronous sources of varying dependability under each variety of food taken up in each chapter obscures the general situation at any given period.

T. GEORGE ALLEN

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[1] *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte,* I, p. 260.

[2] Mostly following the translations of Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt,* for the author was not an Egyptologist but a doctor of medicine.

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# THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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# VOKABULAR-STUDIEN

VON ERNST F. WEIDNER
Berlin, Germany

In der *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVII (3/4, 1920), 117–206, hat Th. J. Meek unter dem Titel *Some Explanatory Lists and Grammatical Texts* mehr als 150 Texte aus Ašurbânipals Bibliothek veröffentlicht. Dem Herausgeber ist die Wissenschaft durch die vortreffliche Publikation dieser Urkunden zu grösstem Danke verpflichtet, denn das neue, uns nun zur Verfügung stehende Material bereichert unser Wissen nach jeder Richtung hin in ganz ausserordentlicher Weise. Die Tafeln umfassen in reicher Abwechselung Vokabulare, Syllabare, grammatische Texte, Kommentare zu Ominatexten, zweisprachige religiöse Texte (in der Hauptsache der Beschwörungsliteratur angehörend), Sprichwörter, Fabeln, medizinische Texte und Götterlisten.

Fast ein Drittel der Texte sind Duplikate zu bereits bekannten Inschriften, die sie in den weitaus meisten Fällen in wesentlichem Umfange und in der erfreulichsten Weise ergänzen. Ich habe mich in dem folgenden ersten Teile der "Vokabular-Studien" vorzugsweise mit diesen Texten beschäftigt.[1] Ein zweiter Teil wird Bemer-

[1] Ausser den Duplikaten wurden die Texte kurz angeführt, die von Meek neu veröffentlicht worden sind. Alle übrigen Inschriften wurden für den zweiten Teil zurückgestellt. Eine Ausnahme wurde nur bei den Kommentaren zu den Geburtsominatexten gemacht, die sämtlich bereits hier behandelt wurden, da sie alle dem grossen Hauptkommentar K 4171 usw. (=VAT 9718) nahe verwandt sind. Von den astrologischen Kommentaren wurden dagegen hier nur die Duplikate und neu veröffentlichten Texte besprochen, dagegen die übrigen für den zweiten Teil reserviert. Unter diesen befindet sich ein grosser fortlaufender Kommentar zu den einzelnen Tafeln von *Enuma Anu dEnlil*, der sich aus K 4593 (Meek, p. 144), Sm 9 (p. 175), Sm 1038 (p. 180), und K 4777 (Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca*, VI, 258 f. + *Astrol. Chald.*, 2. Suppl. XCVI) zusammensetzen lässt.



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kungen zu den übrigen Texten und ein ausgewähltes Wörterverzeichnis zu sämtlichen Inschriften bringen.[1] Um die Uebersicht zu erleichtern, sind die Tafeln dem Inhalte nach in eine Reihe von Gruppen eingeteilt worden.

## I. VOKABULARE UND SYLLABARE

### 1. *K 2044+DT 103* (*pp. 124 und 183*)

Diese beiden von Meek gesondert publizierten Fragmente gehören zu der gleichen Tafel. DT 103 schliesst mit seiner Rückseite(!) unmittelbar an die erste Kolumne der Rückseite von K 2044 oben an, sodass K 2044, Rs. I, 4, und DT 103, Z. 9, ferner I, 5, und Z. 10, usw. je eine Zeile bilden. Das Stück, das so gewonnen wird, lautet dann in Umschrift, wenn wir die Zeilenzählung von K 2044, Rs. I zu Grunde legen:

1. *RI-*[ ] = *šú-ta-ru-ú*
2. [*BU*] = *ša-pu-u ša urpati*
3. *SU-*[ ] = *KÛR²-la-tum*
4. *GIŠ-NIM G*[*IŠ-SI*]*G* = *ṣi-tan u ši-la-an*
5. *MÙ-mu-mu MÙ* = *i-tan-bu-ṭu*
6. *KÀR-KÀR* = *i-tan-pu-ḫu*
7. *SI* = *ša-ru-ru*

Die Richtigkeit dieser Ergänzungen wird bestätigt durch 80, 7–19, 192 (*CT*, XIX, 47), den es entsprechen sich:

80, 7–19, 192, Rs. II, 3–4 = K 2044, Rs. II, 4
80, 7–19, 192, Rs. II, 5 = K 2044, Rs. II, 5
80, 7–19, 192, Rs. II, 7 = K 2044, Rs. II, 6

Z. 2. Zur Ergänzung vgl. Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, Sin III, 11 (Weidner, *BA*, VIII, 4, S. 71).

Z. 4. Die Schreibung *ṣi-tan* stellt die Lesung des Wortes endgültig sicher. Daher Delitzsch, *SGl*, 203, zu verbessern.

### 2. *K 4242* (*p. 142*)

Dieses Fragment ist, wie bereits Meek, p. 117 bemerkt hat, ein Duplikat zu dem Texte K 2055 (= II R 26, 1), den Langdon in

[1] Die Ideogramme werden in einem in Vorbereitung befindlichen Supplement zu Brünnows *List* und Meissners *Seltene assyrische Ideogramme* Aufnahme finden.

[2] Lesung nicht sicher.

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*RA*, XIII (1916), 182–89, mit den Duplikaten K 5433*a* und Rm 2, II, 29 neu publiziert und eingehend behandelt hat. Zwischen K 4242 (Vorder- und Rückseite bei Meek zu vertauschen!) und K 2055 bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

K 4242, Vs. = K 2055, Vs. I, 12–22 (Langdon, p. 183)

K 4242, Rs. = K 2055, Rs. II, 14–38 (Langdon, pp. 188 f.)

K 4242, Vs. 5 scheint *BIL-L*[*A* = *naḳâru ša bîti*] zu bieten. Ich vermute aber, dass hier ein Kopierfehler Meeks vorliegt und mit K 2055, Vs. I, 16, *GUL-LA* zu lesen ist.

Die Rückseite von K 4242 gestattet einige Ergänzungen zu K 2055.

K 4242, Rs. 9 (= K 2055, Rs. II, 22): *ŠÚ-DIB-D*[*IB* = *e-* . . . . . *ub* . . . . .].

Rs. 10 (= K 2055, Rs. II, 23): *GEŠṬU-ŠIR*$^{gi\text{-}za\text{-}al}$ [ ] = [ ]. Auch in K 2055 ist die Glosse gewiss *gi-za*(!)-*al* zu lesen. Das zweite Zeichen der Gruppe, welche die Aussprache *gizal* hat, ist in K 2055 nur in Spuren und in K 4242 garnicht erhalten. Ich vermute aber, dass es ein *BUR* war. Ist diese Vermutung richtig, so wäre sie von nicht geringer Bedeutung. Denn dann wäre doch wohl auch der sumerische Name der Stadt Lagaš, nämlich *ŠIR-PUR-LA*, *Gizal-la* su lesen.[1]

Rs. 11 (= K 2055, Rs. II, 24): *MAŠ-DA*[*G* = *tu-u-bu*]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 1122.

Rs. 12 (= K 2055, Rs. II, 25): *RA-RA* = [. . . . . ]. Zur Ergänzung des akkadischen Aequivalents vgl. Brünnow, 6871 f., Meissner, *SAI*, 4555–57.

Rs. 13 (= K 2055, Rs. II, 26): *SE* = [*ḫa-* . . . . . .]. K 2055 bietet dafür nach Langdon *BUR* = *ḫa-*[ ]. Ich glaube dass hier K 4242 das richtige Ideogramm hat, da wohl *SE* eine Reihe von akkadischen Aequivalenten hat, die mit *ḫa* anlauten (s. Brünnow, 4411 f.; Meissner, *SAI*, 2955), aber nicht *BUR*.

Rs. 15 (= K 2055, Rs. II, 28): *NU ḪA-LAM-MA* = . . . . [ ]. Das akkadische Wort lautete nach K 4242 anscheinend mit *l*[*a-a*] *an*. *ḪA-LAM-MA* sonst = *ḫalâḳu* und *mašû* (s. Brünnow, 11850 f.; Meissner, *SAI*, 9100 f.); vgl. auch *NIG-ḪA-LAM-MA* = *šaḫluḳtu*.

[1] Der Vogelname in Br. M. 36669, 1 (*CT*, XIV, 12), wäre dann *gizal-lum*$^{bu}$ zu lesen.

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Rs. 16 (=K 2055, Rs. II, 29): *NIG-TAG*= . .[ ]. Vgl. Brünnow, 12040 f.

Rs. 24 (=K 2055, Rs. II, 37): *IM-A*[*G-A* = *pit-ḳu*]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 6265.

Rs. 25 (=K 2055, Rs. II, 38): *GUD-*[*DA* = *za-ḳa-rum*].

### *3. K 4596 (p. 144)*

Der Text ist ein Duplikat zu K 2061 (*CT*, XIX, 27). Es bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

K 4596, 1–3 =K 2061, Vs. I, 8–10.

K 4596, 8–21 = K 2061, Vs. I, 11–24.

Der Passus K 4596, 4–7 findet sich in K 2061 nicht. Im einzelnen sind auf Grund von K 2061 einige Versehen bei Meek zu verbessern:

K 4596, 2 ist zu lesen: [*A*]*B*(!)-*BA*(!)-*ŠU*-*ŠU* = *ki-l*[*i*(!)-*l*]*i*(!).

Z. 3 finden wir für *EN-ŪR-KAK-KAK* (K 2061, Vs. I, 10) die interessante Variante: *ŪR-KA-KA* = *ba-ri-ri-tum*.

In den Zeilen 4–6 ist statt *LUGAL* natürlich durchgängig *RAB* zu lesen. Das Versehen ist gewiss auf Konto des assyrischen Schreibers zu setzen, da sich auch sonst, besonders in den Beschwörungstexten, diese Verwechselung findet. Die drei Zeilen kommen in der gleichen Reihenfolge K 246, II, 62 (Haupt, *ASKT*, p. 90) und *CT*, XXIV, 44, 142–44 vor.

Z. 7. Ist diese Zeile nach K 2869, 5 (*CT*, XVII, 25) zu ergänzen? Vgl. ferner Meissner, *SAI*, 467, Delitzsch, *HW*, 547 und *SGl*, 194.

Z. 8. Nach K 2061, Vs. I, 11 ist *ṭa*(!)-*ab*(*p*)-*lum* zu lesen.

Z. 9. Hier ist nach K 2061, Vs. I, 12 [*ḫu*]*l-ba*(!)-*ṭu* zu lesen.

Die Zeilen 10 ff. sind nach K 2061, Vs. I, 13 ff. leicht zu ergänzen.

### *4. K 5433a (p. 148)*

Dieser Text war schon von Langdon, *RA*, XIII (1916), 192, publiziert worden. Er ist ein Duplikat zu K 2055 (=II R 26, 1), Rs. I, 34–53 und ist von Langdon, *ibid.*, pp. 180 f. ausführlich behandelt worden. Die einzige Abweichung zwischen beiden Kopien findet sich in Z. 14, wo Meek [. . . *ša* $^{am}$]$^{il}$*nâri* "[. . . des] Sängers," Langdon dagegen [. . . *ša* $^{am}$]$^{il}$*MAŠ-DÛ* bietet. Ich glaube, dass Meek hier die richtige Lesung hat.

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Die drei Duplikate zu K 2055, nämlich K 4242 (Meek, p. 142), K 5433*a*, und Rm 2, II, 29 (Langdon, *RA*, XIII, 192), bilden aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach Bruchstücke der gleichen Tafel.

### 5. *K 5926 (p. 149)*

Zu diesem Fragment ist mir kein Duplikat bekannt. Ich erwähne es hier nur kurz, weil die drei Zeilen 7–9 seiner zweiten Kolumne den Zeilen 11–13 der Vorderseite von Rm 345 (Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 22) zu entsprechen scheinen. Ist das richtig, so haben wir zu lesen:

7. *NAM-SĂ-GA* = [*kis-pu*]
8. *NIG-SĂ-GA* = [*šú-te-mu-ḳu*]
9. *KA-SĂ-G*[*A* = *ṣu-um-mu-ru*]

Vgl. zu Z. 8 Meissner, *SAI*, 464, 9326, zu Z. 9 Brünnow, 719 f.; Meissner, *SAI*, 464, 10007 (dazu Bezold, *ZA*, XXVII, S. 395[2]).

Zu K 5926, II, 3–6 sei noch kurz bemerkt, dass hier natürlich zu fassen ist: 3. $^{du\text{-}u}DÚ$ (s. Brünnow, 9131). 4. $^{sa\text{-}la\text{-}a\text{-}b}SALAḪ$ (s. Brünnow, 7770). 5. $^{sa\text{-}a}SĂ$ (Brünnow, 7287). 6. $^{si\text{-}ig}SÎG$ = *da-ma-ḳ*[*u*].

### 6. *K 7696 (p. 156)*

Das Fragment war bereits von Bezold, *ZA*, XXVII (1912), S. 400 veröffentlicht. Die beiden Kopien zeigen keinerlei Abweichungen. Wie Bezold schon bemerkt hat, steht das Fragment der Serie *id* | *A* | *nâḳu* nahe (s. zu K 7766).

### 7. *K 7766 (p. 156)*

Das kleine Fragment gehört zur Serie *id* | *A* | *nâḳu* und ist ein Duplikat zu Br. M. 38128 (*CT*, XII, 26), VAT 10172 (in Delitzschs *SGl* als Ass., 3024 zitiert), dem von Clay veröffentlichten Yale Syllabary und zu *CT*, XXXV, Pls. 1–8.

Die in der ersten Kolumne erhaltenen beiden Zeichen entsprechen wahrscheinlich den Zeilen 51 und 52 des Yale Syllabary (Clay, *YOS*, I, Pl. XLI).

Die zweite Kolumne ist nach VAT 10172, Vs. III, 39. 41–42, und *CT*, XXXV, 2, Z. 67 f. folgendermassen zu ergänzen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1.— *ti*-[*nu-ur* | *KI*(*im*)*L*$^{im}$ | *ti-nu-ru*] |
| 2.— *bu-un* | [*KI*(*im*)*L*$^{im}$ | *nap-pa-ḫu*] |
| 3.— *il-lam-kuš* | *KI*(*im*)*L*[$^{im}$ | *i-lib-bu-ḫu ša iṣṣûri*] |

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Zu Z. 1 vgl. Br. M. 38128, Rs. I, 50 (*CT*, XII, 26) = Meissner, *SAI*, 7780, und Delitzsch, *SGl*, 285.—Zu Z. 2 s. Yale Syllabary, Z. 77 (Clay, *YOS*, I, Pl. XLII, p. 86) und Delitzsch, *SGl*, 277.—Zu Z. 3 vgl. Br. M. 38128, Rs. II, 1 (*CT*, XII, 26) = Meissner, *SAI*, 7779 und Yale Syllabary, Z. 78 (s. Ungnad, *ZDMG*, LXXI, S. 128). Die Lesung des sumerischen Wortes wird durch VAT 10172, Vs. III, 32 sichergestellt, wo wir lesen: *e-lam-ku-uš*. In der dritten Spalte ist gewiss auch in Br. M. 38128 *il-lib*(!)-*bu-ḫu* zu lesen (danach *SAI* zu verbessern).

### 8. *K 9887 (p. 164)*

K 9887,[1] von dem nur die Rückseite(!) erhalten ist, ist, wie bereits Meek, p. 117 bemerkt hat, ein Duplikat zu K 64 (= II R 62, 3), Rs. III und IV.[2] Es bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

K 9887, Rs. I, 1 = K 64, Vs. II, 18 (II R 62, 77 *cd*)

K 9887, Rs. I, 2–20 = K 64, Rs. I, 1–19 (II R 62, 40–58 *cd*)

K 9887, Rs. II, 1–10 = K 64, Rs. II, 4–13 (II R 62, 43–52 *ab*)

K 9887, Rs. I, 3: *KI-A-GÛ-RI-A* = [*e-bir-tan*]. Ebenso ist nach Delitzsch, *SGl*, 117, II R 62, 41 *cd* zu lesen.

K 9887, Rs. I, 17 ff. ergänzt II R 62, 55 ff. *cd*. Es ist dann zu lesen:

17. $^{mu\text{-}u}MÛ$ = [*aṣû ša iṣi u ḳanî*]
18. $MÛ$ = [*aṣû ša ziḳ-pi*]
19. $^{te\text{-}bi}TEḪI$ = *aṣû* [*ša ziḳ-ti*]
20. $TAG$ = *aṣû* [*ša z(ṣ)i-e-ri*]
21. $I$ = *aṣû* [*ša . . . . . .*]
22. $I$(?) = *aṣû* [*ša . . . . . .*]

Z. 19. Vgl. Br. M. 47760, Vs. I, 15 (*CT*, XII, 14), wo wir die Gleichung finden: $^{di\text{-}ib}DIḪ$ = *a-ṣu-u ša ziḳ-pi*. Dasselbe akkadische Aequivalent lesen wir hier in Z. 18. *ziḳpu* "Spitze" und *ziḳtu* "Stachel" sind also als Synonyma gedacht.

Z. 21 f. Vgl. vielleicht Th. 1905, 4–9, 4, Vs. I, 5 (Meek, p. 199).

### 9. *K 11890+13584 (p. 170)*

Die untere Hälfte dieses Textes (= K 11890) war bereits von Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 16, publiziert. Die beiden Kopien weichen nirgends wesentlich voneinander ab.

[1] Nach einer freundlichen Mitteilung von Meek gehört K 8781 wahrscheinlich zu der gleichen Tafel, wenn es auch nicht direkt an K 9887 anschliesst.

[2] II R 62 sind Vorder- und Rückseite vertauscht.

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Zu Z. 4 f. der vereinigten Fragmente vgl. II R 30, 14 f. *ab*. Danach ist in der rechten Spalte der beiden Zeilen *šaḳû ša eḳli* zu ergänzen. Die Zeilen 1–6 behandeln also das Verbum *šaḳû* "bewässern, tränken."

Z. 7 ist nach K 4403, Rs. II, 10 (*CT*, XII, 44) zu ergänzen.

Z. 9. Die Ergänzung, die Meissner, *SAI*, 8101, vorschlägt, ist nach den Spuren und aus Raumgründen unmöglich.

Z. 10 f. In beiden Zeilen enthält das Ideogramm die Gruppe *UD-KA-BAR-RA*.

### *10. K 14908 (p. 174)*

Dieses kleine Fragment ist ein Duplikat zu K 5425B, 10–14 (*CT*, XIX, 10). Es gestattet die Feststellung, dass dort in Z. 13 *SA-SAR*-[. . .]=[. . . . . .], in Z. 14 *SA-MA*-[. . .]=[. . . . . .] zu lesen ist.

### *11. 81, 2–4, 447 (p. 188)*

Dieses Fragment ist ein Duplikat zu K 2022+13608+13610 (*CT*, XVIII, 43–46).

Die Zeilen 1–4 seiner Vorderseite entsprechen K 2022, Vs. II, 1–4 (*CT*, XVIII, 43), und sind danach leicht zu ergänzen. Ob dagegen die Zeilen 5–6 weiterhin in K 2022, Vs. II, 5–6 entsprechen, erscheint mir zweifelhaft. Jedenfalls passen die Spuren, die Meek gesehen hat, in keiner Weise zu dem, was in K 2022 steht. Eher könnte man hier K 2022, Vs. I, 66–69 (*CT*, XVIII, 44), heranziehen, wo nach einem unveröffentlichten Duplikat zu ergänzen ist:

66. *DA-GAL* = *šú-ú-tú*
67. [*D*]*A-GAL*[1]*-BANDA* = *il-ta-nu*
68. [*DA*]*-ŠÚ-UL* = *ša-du-u*
69. [*DA-NU-ŠÚ-UL*] = *a-mur-ru*

Die Rückseite von 81, 2–4, 447 entspricht K 2022, Rs. I, 51–57 (*CT*, XVIII, 46). Die einzige Abweichung findet sich hier in Z. 2=Z. 52, wo 81, 2–4, 447 [*GIŠ*]*-ZI-DA*, K 2022 dagegen *GIŠ-SAR-DA* bietet. Die Lesung von K 2022 wird durch Vs. I, 62 des gleichen Textes gestützt. Ob hier eine Variante oder ein Versehen Meeks vorliegt, wage ich nicht mit Sicherheit zu entscheiden.

[1] *GAL* fehlt in dem Duplikat.

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*12. 82, 3–23, 149 (p. 189)*

Dieser Text ist ein Duplikat zu dem Vokabular Martin A (jetzt VAT 5744), das Martin in *RT*, XXVII, pp. 120 ff. veröffentlicht hat.[1]

Die Zeilen 1–2 der ersten Kolumne von 82, 3–23, 149 entsprechen anscheinend VAT 5744, Vs. I, 33–34, sodass die folgenden Zeilen VAT 5744, Vs. I ergänzen würden. Kolumne II entspricht VAT 5744, Vs. II, 24–35. Eine ganze Reihe von Varianten sind zu konstatieren. Da ich aber nächstens den Text VAT 5744, der von Martin mit zahlreichen Fehlern publiziert ist, neu veröffentlichen werde, so verweise ich für alle Einzelheiten auf diese Arbeit.

Ein weiteres Duplikat zu VAT 5744, Vs. I, 12–19 ist K 13595 (*CT*, XIX, 12). Es ist mir sehr wahrscheinlich, dass K 13595 und 82, 3–23, 149 der gleichen Tafel angehören.

*13. 82, 3–23, 151 (p. 189)*

Dieses kleine Fragment war bereits von King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, II, Pl. LIV, veröffentlicht worden. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um einen Kommentar zu den Götternamen von Enuma eliš.[2] Vgl. King, *ibid.*, I, 162.

*14. Th. 1905, 4-9, 18 (pp. 201f.)*

Die Vorderseite dieses Textes ist ein Duplikat zu Br. M. 32582, Vs. 34 ff. (*CT*, XII, 28). Sie gestattet dazu wertvolle Ergänzungen. Ein weiteres Duplikat aus Assur ist von Delitzsch in seinem *Sumerischen Glossar* zitiert worden und kann besonders für die Rückseite nutzbringend verwertet werden.

In den Zeilen 1–7 der Vorderseite von Th. 1905, 4–9, 18 wird das Zeichen *A-AN*, in Z. 1 mit der Aussprache *am*, in den Zeilen 2–7 mit der Aussprache *šeg* behandelt.

Z. 1 (=Br. M. 32582, Vs. 34): *A-AN* (*am*) = *ša-a*[:*ki-i*]. Zu der letzteren Ergänzung vgl. Brünnow, 11393.

Z. 2–7 (=Br. M. 32582, Vs. 35–39) sind zu lesen und zu ergänzen: *A-AN* (*šeg*) = *zu-*[*un*]*-nu*, *za*(!)*-n*[*a*]*-nu*, *na-a*[*l*]*-šú*, *na-l*[*a*]*-šú*, *šur-bu*, *šar-bu*. Vgl. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 262.

[1] Das ebendort veröffentlichte Vokabular Martin B gehört jetzt der Sammlung Pierpont Morgan als Nr. 145 an (vgl. Johns, *Cuneiform Inscriptions . . . . Contained in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, p. 47). Es handelt sich bekanntlich um das Bruchstück eines Körperteilnamen-Vokabulars, von dem drei weitere Exemplare bekannt sind: SIL 122 (Zimmern, *ZA*, XXX, S. 288–95), Assur, 4203 (Zimmern, *ZA*, XXXIII, S. 15–26), Ni. 4506, Rs. 11–40 (Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, Pls. IX–XI, pp. 9 f.).

[2] S. Ungnad, *ZA*, XXXI, S. 153–55.

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In den Zeilen 8–16 wird das Zeichen *A-KAL* mit der Aussprache *illu* behandelt. Die entsprechende Partie von Br. M. 32582 ist fortgebrochen. Einige Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen gestattet das Duplikat aus Assur (Delitzsch, *SGl*, 273); vgl. auch K 9928, Rs. (*CT*, XI, 28). Die akkadischen Aequivalente von *A-KAL* (*illu*) lauten dann: *il-lum*, [*š*]*i-iḫ-lu*, *i-nu*, *mi-lu*, *ni-'-lu*, *bi-ib-lum*, [*ḫ*]*i-i-lu*, [*z*]*i-bu*, *ir*(!)*-šu*, [*t*]*a-at-ti-ku*, [*s*]*i-'-šú*.

Die ersten beiden Zeilen der Rückseite behandeln immer noch das Zeichen *A-KAL* mit der Aussprache *illu* (s. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 273). Die akkadischen Aequivalente sind *mu-ú dan-nu-ti* und *mu-ú aš-ṭu-tum*.

Die Zeilen 3–6 der Rückseite können nach dem Duplikat aus Assur (Delitzsch, *SGl*, 275) folgendermassen wiederhergestellt werden:

3. [$^{ú\text{-}gu}$*A-KA*] = *me-ig*(*k*)*-rum*
4. [$^{ú\text{-}gu}$*A-SAG*] = *mu-uḫ-ḫu*
5. [$^{ú\text{-}gu}$*A-KA*] = *mu-uḫ-ḫu*
6. [$^{ú\text{-}gu}$*UGU*] = *mu-uḫ-ḫu*

Auch in Z. 7 ist anscheinend [$^{ú\text{-}gu}$*UGU*] = *e-li* zu ergänzen. Ob weiter die Z. 8 ff. der Rückseite von Th. 1905, 4–9, 18 durch das Duplikat aus Assur ergänzt werden, vermag ich nicht zu sagen, da Delitzsch die Fortsetzung des Duplikates, soweit ich sehen kann, in seinem *Sumerischen Glossar* nicht mitgeteilt hat.

### *15. Th. 1905, 4–9, 26 (p. 202)*

Dieses Fragment gehört zu den vierspaltigen sumerisch-akkadischen Vokabularen,[1] die ausser den Ideogrammen und ihren akkadischen Aequivalenten noch in zwei weiteren Spalten die Aussprache und den Namen des Ideogramms in sorgfältiger phonetischer Schreibung angeben. Diese beiden Spalten sind hier vereinigt.

In Z. 2–3 wird das Ideogramm *ZAB-GA* behandelt. Aussprache: *za-a*[*b-ga*], Name: *ú-du-u* [ ]. Der Name zeigt, dass für den Verfasser des Textes die Zeichen *ZAB* und *UD* identisch waren.

Z. 4–7: *ZAB-ZAB-GA*. Aussprache: *za-ab-za-ab-*[*ga*], Name: *ú-du-u me*(!)*-na-b*[*i*]*-e-gé*(?).[2]

Z. 8: [*AN-B*]*I*. Aussprache: *i-li*[ ].

[1] Vgl. *CT*, XI, Pls. 45 ff., XII, 28; Pinches, *JRAS*, 1905, hinter p. 832; King, *ZA*, XXV, S. 298 ff.; Figulla-Weidner, *KBo*, I, Nr. 48 und *LSSt*, VII, 1/2, S. 82 f.

[2] S. Christian, *MVAG*, 1913, 1, S. 59.

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Ein Paralleltext zu Th. 1905, 4–9, 26 ist ein kleines Vokabularfragment aus Assur, das die zweite und dritte Spalte fortlässt. Für unser Fragment kommt das Stück Vs. II, 9–18, in Betracht, wo wir lesen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9. | *ZAB-GA* | = *ṣu-lu-lu* |
| 10. | | = *el-lu* |
| 11. | | = *ib-bu* |
| 12. | | = *nam-ru* |
| 13. | *ZAB-ZAB-GA* | = *ṣu-lu-lu* |
| 14. | | = *nu-um-mu-ru* |
| 15. | | = *nam-ra e-ni* |
| 16. | *AN-BI* | = $^{d}$*Sin* |
| 17. | | = *ḳar-ra-du* |
| 18. | | = *ilu ḳar-ra-du* |

## II. WÖRTERLISTEN IN SACHLICHER ANORDNUNG

### *a) Fragmente von ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu*

### *16. K 4161 (p. 133)*

Dieses Fragment enthält Auszüge aus den Tafeln III–V von *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu*. Im einzelnen bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

K 4161, 3 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* III, Kol. V, 21
K 4161, 4 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* III, Kol. V, 29
K 4161, 5 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* III, Kol. VI, 62
K 4161, 6 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* IV, Kol. II, 4
K 4161, 7 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* IV, Kol. II, 8
K 4161, 8 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* IV, Kol. I, 21
K 4161, 9 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* IV, Kol. I, 23
K 4161, 10 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* IV, Kol. III, 43
K 4161, 11 = *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu* IV, Kol. IV, 26(?)

Mit den Zeilen 1–2 und 12–13 weiss ich nichts anzufangen. Dagegen gehört Z. 14 sicher zu *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu*, Tafel V (s. dort Kol. III, 67).

K 4161, 3: [$^{giš}$*I*]*ZI-AN-NA GIŠIMMAR = a-ṣ*[*i-tum*]. Die übrigen Texte (Meissner, *MVAG*, 1913, 2, S. 25; Poebel, *PBS*, V, Nr. 133, III, 8) bieten statt *IZI* : *ZI*.

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Z. 4: $^{giš}KA\ GIŠIMMAR = zu$-[$u$]. Vgl. Meissner, *a.a.O.*, S. 25 und *OLZ* 1915, Sp. 137; Poebel, *PBS*, V, Nr. 134, III, 9.

Z. 5: $^{giš}Ú$-$LUḪ = ú$-[$luḫ$-$ḫu$]. S. Meissner, *a.a.O.*, S. 29.

Z. 6: $^{giš}GU$-$ZA\ ARATTA = a$-$rat$-[$ti$-$tum$]. Zur Ergänzung s. K 4428, I, 3 (Meek, p. 143; vgl. bereits Johns, *AJSL*, XXXIV, 62) und K 4338*a*, II, 4 (Delitzsch, *AL*$^3$, S. 86). Ein *kussû arattîtum* ist ein "mächtiger Stuhl" (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 141 und *SGl*, 10; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 109; Meissner, *Suppl.*, 18; Jensen, *KB*, VI, 1, S. 449; Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, n. 2).

Z. 7: $^{giš}GU$-$ZA\ KASKAL\ NIM$-$MA^{ki} = pal$-$t$[$i$-$gu$]. Zur Ergänzung s. K 4428, I, 7 (Meek, p. 143; Johns, *AJSL*, XXXIV, 62) und K 4338*a*, II, 8 (Delitzsch, *AL*$^3$, S. 86). *paltigu* ist ein "Reisesessel" (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 530; Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, n. 5).

Z. 8: $^{giš}DUB$-$GIM = ŠÚ$-$mu$. Das akkadische Aequivalent ist also wohl *tupkimmu* o.ä. zu lesen. Vgl. K 4338*a*, I, 21 (Delitzsch, *AL*$^3$, S. 86).

Z. 9: $^{giš}DUG$-$SILA$-$BUR = muš$-$tap$-[$tin$-$nu$]. Zur Ergänzung der rechten Spalte vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 4217.

Z. 10: $^{giš}LIŠ$-$TUR = tan$-[$nu$]. Zur Ergänzung s. K 4338*a*, III, 43 (Delitzsch, *AL*$^3$, S. 87; Meissner, *SAI*, 5734). Das *tannu* (Delitzsch, *HW*, 711) ist seinem Ideogramme nach ein "kleines *LIŠ*," *LIŠ* aber ist Ideogramm für *itgurtu* (s. Brünnow, 7750; Meissner, *SAI*, 5731 f.; Delitzsch, *HW*, 160 und *SGl*, 141). Dazu die Gleichung VAT 9718, Vs. III, 61: *pal-lu-ur-tú = it-gu-rum*. *pallurtu* nach Jensen, *KB*, VI, 2, S. 10* = "Kreuz," also auch *itguru* (*itgurtu*) = "Kreuz" und *egêru* (s. Ungnad, *ZA*, XXXI, S. 41–43) speziell "kreuzen." Was ist aber ein "kleines" Kreuz?

Z. 11. Ob diese Zeile zu K 4338*a*, IV, 26 (Delitzsch, *AL*$^3$, S. 88) gehört, bleibt unsicher.

### *17. K 9935 (p. 166)*

Das Fragment ist ein Duplikat zur dritten Tafel[1] von *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu*, Kol. II, 55–67 (Meissner, *MVAG*, 1913, 2, S. 18 f.; Scheil, *RT*, XXXVI, 188, Z. 14 ff.). Leider trägt dieses neue Bruchstück nichts zur Ergänzung des bisher bekannten Textes bei, auch ergibt

[1] S. Meissner, *MVAG*, 1913, 2, S. 10–47, 65–78; Poebel, *PBS*, V, Pls. LXV f. (Nr. 133 f.) und dazu Meissner, *OLZ*, 1915, Sp. 136–38; Scheil, *RT*, XXXVI, p. 188 und dazu Schollmeyer, *OLZ*, 1918, Sp. 174; Ungnad, *OLZ*, 1917, Sp. 73.

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sich nur eine einzige Variante. In II, 58 ist ganz phonetisch $^{giš}$*LAM-TUR=tur-a-zu* zu lesen, wie die Variante in K 9935, 4: *tar-[a-zu]* lehrt.

*18. K 4428 (p. 143), K 15153 (p. 174), Sm 1544 (p. 181)*

Diese drei Fragmente gehören zur vierten Tafel von *ḪAR-RA = ḫubullu*, deren Hauptexemplar K 4338*a* von Delitzsch, *AL*$^{3}$, S. 86–90, veröffentlicht wurde.[1] Es entsprechen:

K 4428, Kol. I = K 4338*a*, Kol. II, 2–11
Sm 1544 = K 4338*a*, Kol. V, 44–55
K 15153 = K 4338*a*, Kol. VI, 25–28

*a)* K 4428

Das Fragment ist bereits von Johns, *AJSL*, XXXIV (1917), 62, in Umschrift mitgeteilt worden.

Z. 1 (= K 4338*a*, II, 2 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 5): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA ZAG-BI-UŠ=kuss*]*û ni-m*[*e-di*]. Delitzsch, *HW*, 80 fasst *kussû nîmedi* als "Stuhl, wie man ihn in der Wohnung hat," während er *SGl*, 56 *nîmedu* als "Allerheiligstes" übersetzt. Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25 und n. 1, gibt *kussû nîmedi* als "chair with foot-rest" wieder. Vgl. auch K 4241, I, 8 (Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 11).

Z. 2 (= K 4338*a*, II, 3): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA ZAG-GÛ-UŠ-SA*] = *kussû nîmedi*.

Z. 3 (= K 4338*a*, II, 4 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 6 = K 4161, Z. 6 (Meek, p. 133): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA ARATTA*$^{2}$] = *a-rat-ti-tum*. Vgl. oben zu K 4161, Z. 6.

Z. 4 (= K 4338*a*, II, 5): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA ARATTA*] = *ka-bit-tum* "schwerer (Sessel)."

Z. 5 (= K 4338*a*, II, 6 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 7): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA UŠ*$^{3}$] = *ḳud-di-ni-tum*. *ḳuddinitum* wohl des Ideogramms wegen zu *ḳuttinnu* zu stellen (Delitzsch, *HW*, 323 f.; Streck, *VAB*, VII, S. 251[6]), das dann hier wie *ḳatnu* "dünn, schmal" bedeuten dürfte. Meissner, *SAI*, 6808, ist entsprechend zu verbessern.

Z. 6 (= K 4338*a*, II, 7 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 8): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA KASKAL*] = *ša ḫar-ra-ni* "Reise(stuhl)."

[1] Vgl. ferner Johns, *AJSL*, XXXIV (1917), 60–66; Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, pp. 24–29 und Pl. XXIII (Ni. 4598), *RA*, XV (1918), 109 f.; Meissner, *AOTU*, I, 1, S. 18, Anm. 4.

[2] Langdon, *PBS*, XII, $^{giš}$*GU-ZA LA*(*kúr*)*M*$^{ti-tum}$.

[3] *Ibid.*, *KI-UŠ*.

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Z. 7 (= K 4338*a*, II, 7 = K 4161, Z. 7 (Meek, p. 133): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA KASKAL NIM-MA*$^{ki}$] = *pal-ti-gu* "Reisestuhl." S. oben zu K 4161, Z. 7.

Z. 8 (= K 4338*a*, II, 8 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 9): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA UŠ*] = *ša zi-ka-ri* "Männer-(Stuhl)."

Z. 9 (= K 4338*a*, II, 9 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 10): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA SAL*] = *ša sin-niš*(!)*-ti* "Frauen-(Stuhl)."

Z. 10 (= K 4338*a*, II, 10 = Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, p. 25, Z. 11): [$^{giš}$*GU-ZA NIG-BA*] = *ša kiš-ti* "geschenkter (Stuhl)." Vgl. Langdon, *RA*, XV, 109.

*b*) SM 1544

Die Zeilen 1–3 von Sm 1544 ergänzen die Zeilen 44–46 von K 4338*a*, Kol. V (Delitzsch, *AL*$^{3}$, S. 89), die vollständig fortgebrochen sind.

Z. 1 (= K 4338*a*, V, 44): [$^{giš}$*MÁ A*]*Š*(?)*-DA* = [*elip* . . . . . .].

Z. 2 (= K 4338*a*, V, 45): [$^{giš}$*MÁ*] *ŠÀ-KÁ-NA-GÊ* = [*elip šak-kanakki*] "Statthalter-Schiff." S. Brünnow, 8019, Meissner, *SAI*, 6009.

Z. 3 (= K 4338*a*, V, 46): [$^{giš}$*M*]*Á UT-GAL-GAL* = *elip* [. . . . .]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 11082.

Z. 4 (= K 4338*a*, V, 47): [$^{giš}$]*MÁ KAR-MAḪ* = *elip* . .[ ].

Z. 5 (= K 4338*a*, V, 48): $^{giš}$*MÁ BAR-MUL* = *elip i*[*k*(!)*-li-ti*] "Schiff der Dunkelheit." S. Brünnow, 1898.

Z. 6 (= K 4338*a*, V, 49): $^{giš}$*MÁ KASKAL-ÀM* = [*elip* . . . . . .].

Z. 7 (= K 4338*a*, V, 50): $^{giš}$*MÁ UD-KA-MURUB* = [*elip* . . . . .]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 5836.

Z. 8 (= K 4338*a*, V, 51): $^{giš}$*MÁ KAR-NUN-N*[*A* = *elip* . . . . .].

Z. 9 (= K4338*a*, V, 26, 52): $^{giš}$*MÁ ŠÀ*(*G*)*-ḪUL-L*[*A* = *elip ḫud libbi*]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 6053. K 4338*a*, V, 26 wird das gleiche Ideogramm als *elippi* $^{d}$*ŠÚ-ZI-AN-NA* erklärt (s. Brünnow, 8079).

Z. 10 (= K 4338*a*, V, 54): $^{giš}$*MÁ ḪI-LI-*? = [*elip* . . . . .]. Für die Ergänzung kommt wohl mit Rücksicht auf den Kontext eine der Gleichungen Brünnow, 8244–48 in Betracht.

Z. 11 und K 4338*a*, V, 55 weichen wesentlich voneinander ab. Ob und in welchem Text eventuell ein Kopierfehler vorliegt, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden.

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*c)* K 15153

Die fünf Zeilen dieses kleinen Fragments sind nach K 4338*a*, VI, 25–28 (Delitzsch, *AL*³, S. 88) zu ergänzen:[1]

1. [$^{d}$]$^{iš}$*KI MÁ* = *ḳ*[*aḳ-ḳar elippi*]
2. [$^{d}$]$^{iš}$*ÚR MÁ* = [*iš-di elippi*]
3. $^{d}$$^{iš}$*SI MÁ* = [*ḳar-ni elippi*]
4. $^{d}$$^{iš}$*SI*(!)-*SI MÁ* = [*ḳar-na-a-ti elippi*]
5. $^{d}$$^{iš}$*T*[*I MÁ* = *ṣi-il elippi*]

Dass dieses Fragment zur vierten Tafel von *ḪAR-RA* = *ḫubullu* gehört, hat bereits King, *Catalogue*, p. 162, bemerkt.

*19. K 13619 (p. 171), 79, 7–8, 170 (p. 188)*

Diese beiden Bruchstücke gehören zur fünften Tafel der Serie *ḪAR-RA* = *ḫubullu*, die von Meissner, *AOTU*, I, S. 18–43. 57–73 zusammengestellt worden ist.

79, 7–8, 170 entspricht Kolumne I, 43–61. Der Text war schon von Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 26 publiziert worden und wurde von Ungnad, *OLZ*, 1918, Sp. 224 besprochen.

K 13619, Kolumne I ist Duplikat zu Kolumne V, 1–4 der fünften Tafel (Meissner, S. 27). Der Text ist zu ergänzen:

1. [$^{d}$$^{iš}$*GÁL KÁ Ê-GAL*] = *dalat a-bul*(!) [*êkalli*][2]
2. [$^{d}$$^{iš}$*GÁL KÁ GU-L*]*A* = *dalat ba-bi ra-bi-i*
3. [$^{d}$$^{iš}$*GÁL KÁ TUR-RA*] = *dalat bâbi ṣa-aḫ-ri*
4. [$^{d}$$^{iš}$*GÁL KÁ AŠ-A-AN* = *dalat bâbi ka-m*]*i-i*

Die wenigen Reste der Kolumne II von K 13619 entsprechen dem Anfang der Kolumne IV der fünften Tafel.

*b) Fragmente sonstiger Wörterlisten*

*20. K 4599 (p. 145)*

K 4599 ist ein Duplikat zu *K* 4241+4556 (Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 11). Die nahe Verwandtschaft beider Texte mit K 242, Vs. (II R 26, 1) dürfte lehren, dass sie wahrscheinlich die dritte Tafel der Serie *ḪAR-GUD* = *imrû* = *ballu* darstellen (s. II R 26, 40 *ab*).

Die Zeilen 5–14 von K 4599 sind identisch mit K 4241+4556, Rs. I, 1–10. Beide Texte ergänzen sich gegenseitig in der willkommensten Weise, sodass wir wenigstens die ersten beiden Spalten

[1] Ein Duplikat zu Z. 1–3 s. bei Meissner, *AOTU*, I, S. 73, Vs. 4–6.

[2] Oder etwa [$^{d}$$^{iš}$*GÁL KÁ-GAL*] = *dalat a-bul*(!)-[*li*] zu ergänzen?

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dieses dreispaltigen Vokabulars fast vollständig wiederherstellen können. Sie lauten dann, wenn wir die Zeilenzählung von K 4599 zu Grunde legen:

5. [$^{giš}MAR$ . . . . . .] . . = " (= *kêšu*) *ši-ni* . . .[ ]
6. [$^{giš}MAR$] *ŠÛ* = *mar ḳa-t*[*i*]
7. [$^{giš}MAR$] *ŠÛ* = *ša ḳu* . . [ ]
8. [$^{giš}MAR$] *IM-MA* = *mar me-*[ ]
9. [$^{giš}MAR$] *KÙ-BABBAR* = *mar kas-*[*pi*]
10. [$^{giš}MAR$] *GUŠKIN* = *mar ḫu-ra-*[*ṣi*]
11. [$^{giš}MAR$ *SAḪ*]*AR-RA* = *mar e-*[*pi-ri*]
12. [$^{giš}MAR$ *SAḪ*]*AR-RA* = *zir*[1]*-te-*[ ]
13. [$^{giš}MAR$ *SAḪA*]*R-RA* = *iš-ḳa-*[*ru-ur-tu*]
14. [$^{giš}MAR$ *B*]*IR-BIR-RI* = "[2] . . [ ]

Es handelt sich durchweg um Geräte. $^{giš}MAR$ = *marru* ist bekanntlich die "Hacke,"[3] und die anderen hier genannten Geräte werden daher von ähnlicher Natur sein. Neben der für den Handgebrauch bestimmten Hacke (Z. 6) und der Erdhacke (Z. 11) werden auch Hacken aus Silber und Gold (Z. 9 f.) aufgeführt.

In Z. 5 f. wird ein Gerät *kêšu* genannt, das seinem Ideogramm und dem Kontext zufolge gewiss mit der Hacke verwandt ist. Man wird es, glaube ich, mit dem *kišu* identifizieren können, das in Inschriften Ašurbânipals mehrfach als Gerät (?) des Gärtners[4] genannt wird und das bisher m.E. unrichtig als "Unterholz" gefasst wurde.[5] Ist das *ši-ni* in Z. 5 als "zwei" zu fassen, so ist in *kêšu* vielleicht eine Hacke mit zwei Zähnen zu erblicken.

## *21. K 12848 (p. 170)*

Dieses Fragment war bereits von Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 17 veröffentlicht worden, doch bietet Meeks Kopie eine Reihe wichtiger Verbesserungen. Es gehört zu der Serie *SÌG+ALAM = nabnîtu.*

[1] Oder *k(ḫ)ul.*

[2] K 4241 +4556 dafür [*iš-ḫ*]*a-ru-uš-tu.*

[3] Vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 427; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 584 f.; Genouillac, *OLZ*, 1908, Sp. 469; W. M. Müller, *ibid.*, 1909, Sp. 107; Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, S. 41.

[4] Vgl. Streck, *VAB*, VII, S. 499.

[5] S. Jensen, *ZA*, *X*, S. 251, und *KB*, VI, 1, S. 362; Streck, *VAB*, VII, S. 77, Anm. 7.

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Die Vorderseite von K 12848 ist ein Duplikat zu K 4403, Vs. 7–15 (*CT*, XII, 44).[1] Sie lässt sich danach folgendermassen ergänzen:

1. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*GAM BALAG* = ']'(= *kippat*) *ba-lag*[2]*-g*[*i*]
2. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*GAM BALAG-DI*] = " *tim*[3]*-bu-ut*[4]*-ti*
3. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN* ] = *giš*[5]*-ri-in-nu*
4. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN GAB* ] = *ḳab-lu-u*[6]
5. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN ŠÀ(G)-BI* ] = "
6. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN ŠÀ(G)-BI* ] = *lib-bu*
7. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN ŠÀ(G)-BI* ] = " *ša zi-ba-ni-ti*
8. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN I GUN* = *ša*] *bi-*[*lat*]
9. [$^{gi\check{s}}$*RIN MÁ-LAL* = *ša ma-lal-l*]*i-*[*e*]

Die Rückseite von K 12848 ist ein Duplikat zu K 2042, Vs. II, 7–Rs. I, 4 (*CT*, XII, 45). Irgendeine Variante liegt nicht vor.

### *22. K 14423 (p. 172)*

Dieser Text gehört einem ergänzenden Duplikat zu K 4400, Vs. 25–32 (= V R 32, 1; die Zeilen 30–32 ergänzt nach K 4602, Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wörterb.*, S. 233) an. Es ist freilich auch sehr wohl möglich, dass das Fragment an K 4400 unmittelbar anschliesst, da gerade das Textstück, das auf K 14423 erhalten ist, auf K 4400 fortgebrochen ist. Ein Paralleltext zu den meisten Zeilen unseres Fragments, wenn auch in anderer Anordnung, ist K 4330, Vs. 9–20 (*CT*, XIV, 8). Ich lasse nun eine Umschrift des Fragments nach der Zeilenzählung von K 4400 folgen:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 25. [*IM-G*]*Ú-TIN-NA* | [*ḳa-du-ut ši-ka-ri* | *šur-šum-mu ša kurun-ni*] |
| 26. [*IM*]*-GÚ* | *ḳa-*[*du-tum* | *ṭi-ṭùm*] |
| 27. [*IM-GÚ*(?) *S*]*ÍG-SÍG* | [ | *gu-uḫ-lu*] |
| 28. [*ŠIM-BI-Z*]*I-DA* | *a-ma-*[*mu-ú* | ": *ṣa-di-du*] |
| 29. [*ŠIM-BI-ZI-DA S*]*ÍG-SÍG* | *aṣ-*[*mur* | *eš-kat-ru-ú*] |
| 30. [*IM ŠIM GUŠK*]*IN* | *ši-i-*[*bu* | *šin-di ḫurâṣi*] |
| 31. [*IM ŠIM* $^{zá}$*I*]*Š* | *li-e-*[*ru* | *šin-di NI*[ ][7] |
| 32. [*IM GUŠKIN*] | *il-lu-u*[*r pa-ni* | *ka-lu-u*] |

[1] Das "Vok. Konst.," das Delitzsch, *H W*, 207, zitiert, ist anscheinend mit K 12848 identisch.

[2] K 4403: *la-an*.

[3] So gegen Meek und mit Meissner gewiss zu lesen. Vgl. K 4403.

[4] K 4403: *ú*.

[5] K 4403: *gi-iš*.

[6] K 4403: fehlt.

[7] Oder *šin-di* $^{ab}$[$^{an}$ . . . . . ].

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In den Zeilen 25 f. wird der "Satz" (*ḳadûtu, šuršummu, ṭîṭu*) des Bieres bez. des Rauschtrankes genannt (vgl. Jensen, *KB*, VI, 1, S. 476 f.; Hrozný, *Getreide*, S. 147). Mit *guḫlu, amamû* und *ṣâddidu* (Z. 27 f.) ist der "Antimon" gemeint (s. Langdon, *OLZ*, 1909, Sp. 114; Meissner, *ibid.*, 1914, Sp. 53 f.). *asmur* und *eškatrû* (Z. 29) hat Boson (*RStO*, VI (1914), 969 ff.) als "Schmirgel" erklärt. *šîbu, šindu* und *lêru* (Z. 30 f.) sind, wie Langdon, *OLZ*, 1909, Sp. 111 ff. gezeigt hat, Ausdrücke für "Schminke." Die genaue Bedeutung von *illûr pâni* und *kalû* ist meines Wissens noch nicht bekannt.

### *23. Sm 305 (p. 179)*

Sm 305 war bereits von Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 18 veröffentlicht worden. Die beiden Kopien stimmen so gut wie vollständig überein; nur in Z. 5 ist gewiss mit Meissner *ṣi*(!)-*ḫir-tum* zu lesen. Ein Duplikat zu den Zeilen 4–11, das aber keine Ergänzungen gestattet, liegt, wie Meissner, *MVAG*, 1905, 4, S. 3, bemerkt hat, in K 14104 (*CT*, XVIII, 9) vor.

### *24. Sm 1701 (pp. 181 f.)*

Sm 1701 ist, wie schon Meek, p. 117, notiert hat, ein Duplikat zu K 4218*a* (*CT*, XIV, 10).[1] Der Text enthält zunächst ein Verzeichnis von Pflanzennamen mit Anweisung, wie sie für medizinische Zwecke nutzbar gemacht werden können (Vs. I–Rs. I), und im Anschluss daran ein Vokabular von Stein- und Insektennamen.

Zwischen K 4218*a* und Sm 1701 bestehen die folgenden Beziehungen:

K 4218*a*, Vs. I, 3–13 = Sm 1701, Vs. I, 6–16
K 4218*a*, Rs. II, 4–8 = Sm 1701, Rs. II, 1–5
K 4218*a*, Rs. II, 10–15 = Sm 1701, Rs. II, 6–11

Die Zeilen Sm 1701, Vs. I, 1–5 sind neu. In K 4218*a* scheint vor Vs. I, 3 noch etwas Anderes gestanden zu haben, da die dort erhaltenen Zeichenreste nicht mit Sm 1701, Vs. I, 4 f. übereinstimmen. Im übrigen wird K 4218*a*, Vs. I, durch Sm 1701 wesentlich ergänzt. Der Text hat dann folgenden Wortlaut (Zeilenzählung von Sm 1701):

| | |
|---|---|
| 5. [$^{giš}$*K*]*A MUN* $^{iš}$*bîni* | *ina* $^{aban}$*ga-bi-e*[2] |
| 6. $^{giš}$ $^{ú}$*LAL* | *ina IM ka-lu-ú* |
| 7. $^{giš}$ $^{ú}$*LAL* | *ina IM-KAL maṭḳi* |
| 8. $^{iš}$*pu-ḳut-tu*[3] | *ina aban a-s*(*š*)*ak-ki* |
| 9. $^{iš}$*ni-bi-i*' $^{iš}$*balti* | *ina AN-BIL* |

[1] Früher V R 40, 5. Vgl. Meissner, *MVAG*, 1904, 3, S. 22. Ein Paralleltext ist K 4152 (*CT*, XIV, 44).

[2] Hier schiebt K 4218*a* noch mehrere andere Zeilen ein. [3] K 4218*a*: *tú*.

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| | |
|---|---|
| 10. $^{giš}$*GIR-ELTEG-GA ša VII ḳaḳḳadê$^{pl}$-šu* : | *ina i-pu* |
| 11. $^{giš}$*MUN-EME-SAL-ŠI* | *ina* $^{aban}$*šadâni DIB-BA* |
| 12. $^{iti}$*šarmadu* | *ina šinnâti$^{pl}$ ga-ṣi-ṣa-a-te* |
| 13. $^{giš}$*ŠAKIRA* $^{d}$*Ša-maš*[1] | *ina lišân alpi ti-ki-e* |
| 14. $^{iti}$*ka-zal lu*[2] | *ina lišân MUŠ GÚN-A* |
| 15. $^{iti}$*iš-ḳur-tu*[3] | *ina id aribi ṣalmi* |
| 16. $^{giš}$ $^{ú}$*UD* | *ina ni-lu piṣû*[4] |

Z. 5. $^{aban}$*gabû* = Alaun (s. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XVII, 27–30).— Z. 6. Zu $^{ú}$*LAL* s. Meissner, *SAI*, 7614. *kalû* Verbum oder das Synonymum von *illûr pâni* (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 718; Meissner, *SAI*, 6352)? Im letzteren Falle wäre für das vorhergehende *IM* auf *IM-GUŠKIN* = *kalû* zu verweisen. Vgl. K 4152, Vs. 14 (*CT*, XIV, 44). — Z. 7. *IM-KAL* wahrscheinlich *aklu* "Speise" (s. Meissner, *SAI*, 6309). *aklu matḳu* auch K 4575, 1 (Boissier, *Choix de textes*, II, 1, p. 35).— Z. 8. Zu *puḳuttu*, einer Dornenart, s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 535 f. *aban asakki* etwa = "Keller"-Stein (vgl. Scheil, *RT*, XVI, 181; Streck, *ZA*, XVIII, S. 196 f.; Meissner, *Suppl.*, 12)? — Z. 9. *AN-BIL* hier kaum *muṣlalu* "Mittag." Eher der $^{zú}$*AN-BIL* (Meissner, *SAI*, 374; Boson, *RStO*, VII, 379 ff.) zu vergleichen (vgl. K 4152, Vs. 18 = *CT*, XIV, 44). — Z. 10. *ipu* "Mutterleib" (s. Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 105). — Z. 11. $^{giš}$*MUN-EME-SAL-ŠI* s. Meissner, *SAI*, 1815. Zu *šadânu* s. Streck, *ZA*, XVIII, S. 181 f., Boson, *RStO*, VII, 411–12.— Z. 12. Ein Mittel gegen Zahnschmerz. Beachte dazu, dass das in dem Ideogramm des Pflanzennamens enthaltene *GÚR* auch = *ḳaṣâṣu* ist (s. Brünnow, 933; Meissner, *SAI*, 567). Zu *šarmadu* s. *SAI*, 573.

Die zweite Kolumne der Rückseite (vgl. K 4373, Vs. II, 10 ff. = *CT*, XIV, 9) hat folgenden Wortlaut:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. [*NUM*] *ZU*[4] | *ḳur-ḳur-ru*[5] |
| 2. [*NUM*] *ZU*[6] | *zu-um-bu*[7] *ša rigim-šu ma-du*[8] |
| 3. [*NUM* $^{giš}$*TIR*] *SÍG-SÍG* | *zu-um-bu*[7] *ki-iš-ti*[9] *ár*[10]*-ḳu* |
| 4. [*NUM KA*]*-RA-AḪ* | *zu-um-bu*[7] *la-be-e* |
| 5. *NUM* *LAL*[11] | *zu-um-bu*[7] *la-be-e* |

[1] K 4218*a*: $^{d}$*Šamaš*. [2] K 4218*a*: *la*. [3] K 4218*a*: *tú*.
[4] K 4218*a*: [*NUM-KA-R*]*A-AḪ* (Meissner, *SAI*, 6785).
[5] K 4218*a*: *ḳurḳurru ta-bi-ru*.
[6] K 4218*a*: [*NUM*]*-KA* (*SAI*, 6784); K 4373: *NUM*$^{zu}$ *KA*.
[7] K 4218*a*: *sumbu*. [8] K 4218*a*: $^{giš}$*TIR*. [11] K 4218*a*: [*NUM*]*-GÚR-GÚR*.
[9] K 4218*a*: *ma-'-du*. [10] K 4218*a*: *ar*.

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| | |
|---|---|
| 6. *NUM LÍ-NUN-NA* | *a-da-mu-um-mu*[1] |
| 7. *ÚḪ(?)*[2] *eḳli*[3] *GÛN-A* | *mârat* $^{d}$*Iš-tar*[4] |
| 8. [ ]-*ḳu-ti*[5] *eḳli*[3] | *iṣ-ṣu-ú rabîtu*[tu] |
| 9. [ . . . *GA*]*M-*[*M*]*A* | *iṣ-ṣu-ú ṣiḫirtu*[tu] |
| 10. [. . . . . -*MA KI-MAḪ* | *iṣ-s*]*u-ú ki*[6]*-ma-ḫi* |
| 11. [ | *iṣ-ṣu-*]*ú uṣ-ṣur-tu* |

Z. 1. Ob hier wirklich [*NUM*]-*ZU* zu ergänzen ist, bleibt unsicher. Delitzsch hat bei einer früheren Kopie (*HW*, 721) [*NUM-KA-R*]*A-AḪ* gelesen, und das dürfte vielleicht gegenüber Meek richtig sein. Die *ḳurḳurru*-Fliege ist nach dem *ḳurḳurru*-Handwerker genannt (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 203 f., *SGl*, 18. 273; Landsberger, *ZMDG*, LXIX, S. 503 f.; Ungnad, *ZA*, XXXI, S. 276; Meissner, *OLZ*, 1916, Sp. 149). — Z. 4. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 6786.

*25. 82, 3–23, 28 (p. 188), 83, 1–18, 462 (p. 192)*

Diese beiden Texte sind keine Duplikate, aber aufs engste miteinander verwandt. Sie geben in kleinen dreizeiligen Abschnitten Auszüge von je drei aufeinander folgenden Zeilen aus verschiedenen Texten, und zwar so, dass zuerst Geräte (Determinativ *giš*), dann Rohre (*gi*), hierauf Töpfe (*dug*) und zuletzt Sterne (*mul*) behandelt werden. Ob es sich hierbei um Schülerarbeiten oder um irgendwelche bibliothekarische Hilfsmittel handelt, dürfte nicht sicher zu entscheiden sein. Doch scheint mir das Letztere naheliegender, da die Tafeln, aus denen die Auszüge gemacht sind, doch wohl einer fortlaufenden Serie angehörten. In einer Reihe von Fällen lassen sich die Tafeln noch feststellen, aus denen diese Auszüge angefertigt sind. Unsere beiden Texte waren wohl einspaltig und nannten nur die Ideogramme.

*a*) 82, 3–23, 28

Die Zeilen Vs. 2–4 sind aus 79, 7–8, 21, Z. 14–16 (*CT*, XIV, 46) entnommen. Sie sind zu ergänzen:

2. *GI-D*[*Ú*] (=*apparu*)
3. *GI-*$^{sa-g}$[$^{a}$*SAG*] (=*apparu*)
4. *GI-*$^{su-u}$[$^{n}$*SUN*] (=*apparu*)

Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 1564, 1527, 1480.

[1] K 4218*a*: *sumbu a-da-mu-mu.*
[2] K 4218*a*: [*Ú*]*Ḫ*(?)[*ti*].
[3] K 4218*a*: *GÂN.*
[4] K 4218*a*: $^{d}$*Ištar.*
[5] K 4218*a*: *tu.*
[6] K 4218*a*: *gi.*

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Auf der Rückseite werden Z. 4 f. *mul ŠIB-Z[I-AN-NA]* (Orion) und *mul KAK-SI-DI* (Sirius) nebeneinander genannt. Sie werden auch sonst gemeinsam aufgeführt (vgl. K 2067, 8 = *CT*, XXVI, 45; 82, 5–22, 512, Rs. 10 f. = *CT*, XXXIII, 9 usw.).

*b*) 83, 1–18, 462

Die Zeilen Vs. 1–3 entsprechen K 4403, Rs. II, 19–21 (*CT*, XII, 44) = K 4408, Rs. 18–20 (*ibid.*, 45). Danach ist zu lesen:

1. $^{giš}$*NIG-PA ḪAR-MUŠEN-NA* (= *ḫaṭṭi ḫuḫaru*)
2. $^{giš}$*GAM ḪAR-MUŠEN-NA* (= *kippat ḫuḫaru*)
3. $^{giš}$ $^{a\text{-}lal}$ *ALAL* (= *alallum*)[1]

Vgl. dazu Delitzsch, *HW*, 73 und 272, *SGl*, 9 und 210.

Die Zeilen 1–3 der Rückseite sind Duplikat zu V R 42, 12–14 *fg*. Danach ist zu lesen:

1. $^{duġ}$*AL-GAR* (= *ri-*[ ])
2. $^{duġ\ ba\text{-}me\text{-}in}$*PA* (= *kab-duḳ-ḳu-*[*u* ?])
3. $^{duġ\ ba\text{-}eš}$*PA*(!)[2] (= *ṣi-in-*[ ])

Die Glossen weichen V R 42 ab. In Z. 2 lesen wir dort *a-ba-an-man*, in Z. 3 *ba-a-eš*.

Die Zeilen 7–9 der Rückseite sind entnommen aus K 250, Vs. II, 12–14 (*CT*, XXVI, 40, ergänzt durch K 4195 (*ibid.*, 42) und K 7646 (*CT*, XXIX, 47), vgl. Weidner, *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 9) oder aus K 2067, 16–17 (*CT*, XXVI, 45). Die drei hier aufgeführten Namen *kakkabu na-ka-ru*, *kakkabu ṣar*$^{ṣa\text{-}ar}$*-ru* und *kakkabu limnu* eignen dem Planeten Mars.

Diesen beiden eben besprochenen Texten steht

*K 945 (p. 119)*

ausserordentlich nahe. Er gibt allerdings auf der Vorderseite neben der sumerischen auch eine akkadische Spalte, führt aber im übrigen, soweit es sich noch feststellen lässt, gleichfalls Bezeichnungen von Rohren (Vs. 4–6), Töpfen (10–12) usw. auf und schliesst wie die obigen Texte mit Auszügen aus astronomischen Tafeln. Auch hier umfassen die Auszüge auf der Vorderseite immer drei fortlaufende Zeilen.

[1] K 4403 bietet dafür: $^{giš\ e\text{-}lal}$*ELAL* = *elal*[*lum*].

[2] So ist bei Meek gewiss nach V R 42 zu verbessern.

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Vs. 4–16 sind ein Auszug aus Sp. III, 6, Vs. II, 5–7 (Pinches, *PSBA*, XVI (1894), 308) und folgendermassen wiederherzustellen:

4. [$^{gi}A$]*L-DAR*$^{da}$*-RA* = *li-tu-ú*
5. [$^{gi}A$]*L-KUM-MA* = *ḫa-aš-l*[*u*]
6. [$^{gi}AL$-$^{g}$]$^{a}$*GAZ-ZA* = *di-e-*[*ku*]

Es handelt sich hier um einen "zerstörten," einen "zermalmten" und einen "vernichteten" Rohrkorb.

Die Zeilen Vs. 10–12 führen Krüge auf. Eine entsprechende Vorlage konnte ich zwar nicht ausfindig machen, doch sei hier wenigstens kurz auf die interessanten Glossen aufmerksam gemacht. Der Abschnitt ist gewiss zu ergänzen:

10. [$^{dug}$] $^{kak\text{-}ku\text{-}ul}$*KAKKUL* = *na-an-zi-*[*tu*]
11. [$^{dug\ ni\text{-}iq\text{-}du\text{-}}$]$^{ur\text{-}bur}$*NIG-DUR-BUR*[1] = "
12. [$^{dug\ ni\text{-}iq\text{-}d}$]*u-ur-bar-tu* $^{ra}$*NIG-DUR-BUR-TUR-RA* = *nap-ra-aḫ-*[*tu*]

*nanzîtu* (*namzîtu*) ist der "Mischkrug" (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 396 und *SGl*, 113; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 680). *napraḫtu* muss dann seinem Ideogramm zufolge ein "kleiner Mischkrug" sein (s. Meissner, *Suppl.*, 78).

Die vier Zeilen der Rückseite sind Auszüge aus astronomischen Texten, und zwar ist

Z. 1–2 = Sm 1907, 1–2 (Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, VII, Pl. I).

Z. 3–4 = K 250, Kolumne VI, 6–7 (*CT*, XXVI, 41; vgl. Weidner, *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 17 und *Memnon*, V, S. 29; Landsberger, *LSSt*, VI, 1/2, S. 87).

Die ersten beiden Zeilen der Rückseite sind ein Stück aus der zweiten Tafel der Serie — *mul APIN*, Abschnitt Schaltungspraxis. Sie sind folgendermassen zu ergänzen (s. *Babyloniaca*, VII, 13): [1][— *ultu ûmi I*$^{k}$]$^{an}$ *ša* $^{ara\text{-}b}$*Adari adi ûmi XXX*$^{kan}$ *ša* $^{ara\text{-}b}$*Ai*[*ri*] [2][$^{d}$]*Šamaš ina ḫarrân šú-ut* $^{d}$*A-nim izzaz-ma zi-ḳu u U*[*D-DA*] "[Vom 1. Tage] des Monats Adar bis zum 30. Tage des Monats Ai[ru] steht die Sonne im Wege derer[2] des Anu : Sturm und Un[wetter(?)]." Zum Verständnis der Angaben vgl. Weidner, *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 46–48.

Die Zeilen 3–4 nennen die beiden letzten Monate des altelamischen Kalenders: $^{itu}$*Si-li-li-ti* und $^{itu}$*ḪUL-DÛB-BA-E*. Der letztere hat dabei die interessante Glosse: [*ḫu*]-*ul-du-bi-e*. Er ist

[1] Zu *U* = *bur* s. Brünnow, 8632 f.

[2] d.h. der Sterne. Vgl. Langdon, *AJSL*, XXXI, 280; Ungnad, *ZDMG*, LXIX, S. 380 f.

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übrigens ohne Zweifel nur ein Lückenbüsser, denn der altelamische Kalender, der mit Adari beginnt und mit Sililiti endigt, hat wohl ohne Zweifel nur zehn Monate umfasst. Ich verweise auf mein *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 17 (und die dort angegebene Literatur) und bitte, besonders den Mond-Plejaden-Kalender bei Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, 2. Suppl. LXXIX, Vs. 6–15 mit dem Texte, *ibid.*, LV, Rs. 1–15 vergleichen zu wollen.

*26. Ki. 1904, 10–9, 83 (p. 196)*

Die zweite Kolumne dieses Textes ist ein Duplikat zu S 31+52, Vs. 2–17 (Scheil, *ZA*, IX, 220) und kann danach folgendermassen wiederhergestellt werden:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *GIŠ* $^{gi\text{-}iš\text{-}}$ " | [*KUD* | *ni-ik-su*(?)] |
| 2. $^{giš}$ *ku-uṭ-ṭu*[1] | [*KUD* | *ni-'-ru*(?)] |
| 3. $^{giš}$ *ku-uṭ-ṭu*[1] | *KUD* | [ ] |
| 4. *GIŠ* $^{gi\text{-}iš\text{-}}$ " | *KUD* | [*iṣ-ṣu ša-pu-lu*] |
| 5. $^{giš}$ *la-aḫ* | *LAḪ* | [*la-ḫu-u*] |
| 6. *GIŠ* $^{gi\text{-}iš\text{-}}$ " | *LAḪ* | [*ki-lu-tum*] |
| 7. $^{giš}$ *la-aḫ* | *LAḪ* | [*iṣ-ṣu ša-pu-lu*] |
| 8. $^{giš}$ *gi-bil*[2] | *GIBIL* | [*ki-lu-tum*] |
| 9. *GIŠ* $^{gi\text{-}iš\text{-}}$ " | *GIBIL* | [*iṣ-ṣu kab-bu*] |
| 10. $^{giš}$ *gi-bil*[2] | *GIBIL* | [*iṣ-ṣu ir-ru*] |
| 11. $^{giš}$ *mu-ut-lu*[3] | *MUTLU* | [*ik-ru-u*] |
| 12. $^{giš}$ *ma-al-lu*[4] | *MALLU* | [*ma al-lu-u*] |
| 13. $^{giš}$ *ma-al-la*[4] | *MALLA* | [*ma-lal-lu*] |
| 14. $^{giš}$ *ga-zi-in-bu*[5] | *GAZINBU* | [*ga-ši-šu*] |
| 15. [$^{giš}$ · · · · · ] · · | *GAZINBU* | [*maš-šu-u*] |
| 16. [$^{giš}$ · · · · · · · | *GA]ZINBU* | [*ma-'-du*(?)-*u*(?)] |

Z. 1 f. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 306 f. — Z. 11 ff. S 31+52 hat in diesen Zeilen als Ideogramm nicht *BU* in seinen verschiedenen Aussprachen, sondern *SUD*, das bekanntlich als guniertes *BU* ebenfalls den Lautwert *bu* hat (s. Torczyner, *ZMDG*, LXVII, S. 147)

[1] S 31+52: *ku-tu*.
[2] S 31+52: *gi-bi-il*.
[3] S 31+52: [ ]-*la*.
[4] S 31+52: *ma-la-la*.
[5] S 31+52: *gi*(?)-*si-bu*.

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und demzufolge auch die übrigen Lautwerte mit *BU* gemeinsam haben dürfte. Vgl. auch Delitzsch, *SGl*, 85, 179, 192.

### III. GRAMMATISCHE TEXTE

*27. K 9939 (p. 166), Rm 361 (p. 183), Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4 (p. 193)*

Diese drei Fragmente sind Duplikate zu Br. M. 46537, der sogenannten "Bertinschen Tafel," die zuerst von G. Bertin 1885 auf den seinem Aufsatze *Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns* (*JRAS*, XVII, 65–88) beigegebenen beiden plates publiziert und dann von Langdon in *RA*, XIII (1916), 94 f. neu veröffentlicht wurde.

Von diesen drei Texten gehören Rm 361 und Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4 (bei Meek Vorder- und Rückseite vertauscht) der gleichen Tafel an. Rm 361 ist an die Vorderseite von Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4 oben links direkt anzufügen, sodass wir auf diese Weise einen grossen Teil von Vorderseite, Kolumne I gewinnen. Zu derselben Tafel gehört ferner anscheinend das seit vielen Jahren bekannte Duplikat zur Bertinschen Tafel K 5423 (VR 27, 5 = *CT*, XIX, 28; vgl. bereits Bertin, *JRAS*, XVII, 86).[1] Es ist, wie ich glaube, an die Rückseite von Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4 oben links anzufügen. Auf diese Weise erhielten wir einen erheblichen Teil von Rückseite, Kolumne II. Rm 361 und K 5423 würden dann ein "sandwich-tablet" bilden.

Die Beziehungen zwischen diesen Texten aus Ašurbânipals Bibliothek und Br. M. 46537 sind nun die folgenden:

K 9939 = Br. M. 46537, Vs. I, 49–61
Rm 361 = Br. M. 46537, Vs. I, 39–55
Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4, Vs. = Br. M. 46537, Vs. I, 55–61, II, Anfang
K 5423 = Br. M. 46537, Rs. I, 31–43, II, Anfang
Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4, Rs. = Br. M. 46537, Rs. II, 1–15

Die erste Kolumne von Br. M. 46537, die mit Z. 48 abbricht, wird durch K 9939 und Rm 361+Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4, Vs. vollständig ergänzt. Während K 9939 mit Z. 61 die erste Kolumne schliesst, geht diese in Rm 361+Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4, Vs. noch weiter. Ich glaube aber, dass die dort überschiessenden Zeilen in Br. M. 46537 am heute abgebrochenen Anfang der zweiten Kolumne gestanden

[1] S. auch Delitzsch, *AL*³, S. 72; Hommel, *Sumer. Lesestücke*, S. 100–102.

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haben, sodass dieser Text in der Anordnung der Kolumnen ungefähr mit K 9939 übereinstimmen würde. Daraus folgt, dass in Br. M. 46537 am Schluss der Vorderseite und am Anfang der Rückseite ungefähr ein Drittel des Textes fehlt.

Ich lasse nun eine Rekonstruktion des letzten Teiles von Br. M. 46537, Vs. I auf Grund von Rm 361+Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4, Vs. und K 9939 folgen:

39. [*UN-GA*] = *ap-pu-*[*na AN-TA KI-TA*]
40. *AN-GA* = *ma-a*[1]
41. [*IN-GA*] = *u*[2]-*š*[*ú-ú*]
42. [*IN*]-*GA* = *ma-*[*a*]
43. [*EN*]-*GA* = *ma-*[*a*][3]
44. [*EN*]-*NA* = *a-di AN-T*[*A*]
45. *GA* = *lu-ú AN-T*[*A*]
46. *ḪU* = ''[3]
47. *ḪA* = ''[3]
48. *ḪE* = ''[3]
49. *UŠ* = *a-na i*[*-na*][4]
50. *ÁŠ* =
51. *IŠ*[5] =
52. *EŠ* =
53. *ÚR* =
54. *AR* =
55. *IR*[6] =
56. *TA* = *ša ki-ma A i-te-nir-ru-bu*
57. *RA* =
58. *DU* =
59. *KA*[7] =
60. *NA*[7] =
61. *A* =

[1] Diese Zeile fehlt in Rm 361.

[2] Rm 361: *ú*.

[3] Linke Spalte in Br. M. 46537 leer.

[4] Ein unveröffentlichter grammatischer Text nennt als Ideogramme für *ina*: *DA*, *TA*, *NE*, *AR*, *IR*, *RA*, *ME*, *UŠ*, *ÁŠ*, *ŠE*, *EŠ* und für *ana*: *Ù*, *A* (Fortsetzung abgebrochen).

[5] So in K 9939, 3 zu verbessern.

[6] So K 9939, 7, zu verbessern.

[7] Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4: *ḫi-pí*.

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Von Z. 50 bis 61 ist die rechte Spalte leer gelassen; es handelt sich durchweg um Ideogramme für *ana* und *ina*. Sehr interessant ist die Bemerkung in Z. 56: *TA* (=*ana*, *ina*), "das wie *A* eingeschoben wird." Das will wohl sagen, dass *TA* mit lokativer Bedeutung als Verbal-*Infix* verwendet wird. Für die sumerische Grammatik scheint diese Erklärung nicht ohne Bedeutung zu sein.

Von dem Anfang der Vorderseite von Br. M. 46537, Kolumne II, der auf Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4 am Schluss von Vs., Kolumne I gestanden hat, sind nur wenige Zeichen noch erhalten, sodass nichts Sicheres darüber ausgesagt werden kann.

Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4, Rs. bietet keine Varianten zu Br. M. 46537, Rs. II, 1–15. Die Ergänzungen, die das Fragment zu Z. 1 und 4 bietet, sind nicht mit Sicherheit zu vervollständigen:

1. [*UN-NE-DA* = . . . . . .-*ši*]*m*
4. [*UN-NE-TA*]= " [ ]-*a-šim*

Ein den eben behandelten Texten nahe verwandtes Fragment ist anscheinend auch K 7300 (Meek, p. 150), doch ist ein direkter Zusammenhang mit Br. M. 46537 nicht nachzuweisen.

### *28. Th. 1905, 4–9, 1 (pp. 197 f.)*

Dieser Text ist ein neues Exemplar der sechsten Tafel von *ana itti-šu* und, wie bereits King, *Catalogue*, pp. 48 f. und Meek, p. 118 erkannt haben, Duplikat zu K 56+60 (II R 14–15=Lenormant, *Choix de textes*, pp. 25–31=Haupt, *ASKT*, S. 71–74). Von der Rückseite hat King in seinem *Catalogue*, Pl. VI, eine vorzügliche Photographie veröffentlicht. Danach hat sie Meissner kopiert und in *AOTU*, II, 1, S. 36–44 ausführlich besprochen. Ich kann mich daher im Folgenden auf die Vorderseite beschränken. Zwischen Th. 1905, 4–9, 1 und K 56+60 bestehen die folgenden Beziehungen:[1]

Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Vs. I, 1–40=K 56+60, Vs. I, 8–48
Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Vs. II, 1–30=K 56+60, Vs. II, 9–38
Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Vs. II, 44–45=K 56+60, Rs. I, 1–2
Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Rs. I, 1–41=K 56+60, Rs. I, 6–47
Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Rs. II, 1–39=K 56+60, Rs. II, 9–47

Die Zeilen Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Vs. II, 31–43 ergänzen den Schluss der zweiten Kolumne der Vorderseite von K 56+60, die Zeilen Rs. II,

[1] Ich lege dabei den von Haupt publizierten Text zu Grunde.

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40–44 ein Stück des Schlusses der zweiten Kolumne der Rückseite von K 56+60.

An den folgenden Stellen wird die Vorderseite von K 56+60 durch Th. 1905, 4–9, 1 ergänzt:

*a*) VS. I, 15–16 = TH. 1905, 4–9, 1, VS. I, 8–9

8. [*id ud gù-da-ab*]-*zi-zi* = *i-še-e-ir*
9. [*id ud mi ba*]-*di-e* = *ú-šá-am-šá*

*šêru* bedeutet hier ohne Zweifel "hell werden" (davon *šêru* "Morgen," vgl. Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 1105*a*), *šumšû* "dunkel werden" (davon *mûšu* "Nacht," s. Weidner, *RA*, XI, 127 f.).

*b*) VS. I, 40–43 = TH. 1905, 4–9, 1, VS. I, 33–36

| | |
|---|---|
| 40. [*a-šà*(*g*) *nam-tab-ba*] | *eḳil tap-pu-ti* |
| 41. [*ki lugal a-šà*(*g*)-*ga-ta*] | *it-ti bêl eḳli* |
| 42. [*a-šà*(*g*) *nam-tab-ba*] | *eḳlu a-na tap-pu-ti* |
| 43. [*ìb-ta-è*] | *ú-še-ṣi* |

*c*) VS. I, 44–47

Diese vier Zeilen werden etwas durch Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Vs. I, 37–39 ergänzt, doch bleiben noch immer Lücken. Auch scheint die neue Version kürzer zu sein.

*d*) VS. II, 36 = TH. 1905, 4–9, 1, VS. II, 28

Haupt hat hier vor *ê-gal-la* noch einen senkrechten Keil, der sowohl II R 14 wie bei Lenormant fehlt. Auch unser neuer Text hat ihn nicht, sodass er wohl sicher zu tilgen ist.

*e*) VS. II, 39–51

Die linke Spalte dieser auf K 56+60 vollständig fortgebrochenen Zeilen wird, wie bereits erwähnt, durch Th. 1905, 4–9, 1, Vs. II, 31–43 ergänzt. Da aber auch hier die rechte akkadische Spalte fehlt, so hat es vorläufig wenig Zweck, näher darauf einzugehen.

## IV. ASTROLOGISCHE KOMMENTARE

### *29. K 2740 (p. 127)*

K 2740 ist ein Duplikat zu K 260, Z. 26–40 (II R 49, 3; Lenormant, *Choix de textes*, pp. 82 f.; Weidner, *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 29–35; Langdon, *RA*, XIV (1917), 20–24).

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Die ersten vier Zeilen von K 2740 bieten keinerlei Varianten zu K 260, 26–29. Dagegen lösen die Zeilen 5–6 das Rätsel, welches bisher mit den Zeilen 30–32 von K 260 verknüpft war. Es zeigt sich nunmehr, dass in Z. 31 nur die ersten beiden Spalten zusammengehören ([*mul AN-GUB*]-*BA-MEŠ u AN-KU-A-MEŠ* = $^{d}$*Sin u* $^{d}$*Šamaš*), dass dagegen die dritte Spalte die Zeile 30 fortsetzt und in Zeile 32 ihre weitere Fortsetzung findet. Die Zeilen 5–6 von K 2740 sind nämlich zu ergänzen:

5. [*mul*] *IM-ŠÚ-NIGIN-NA-NU-KÚŠ-ŠÀ-E-NE* : *la a-ši-bu la a-ni-*(!)-[*ḫu*]
6. *mul-te-sir urâ al-ma-na-a-ti* $^{d}$*A*[*l-ma-nu*[1]]

Der Gestirnname, der sonst den Planeten Venus bezeichnet,[2] erhält auf Grund des Ideogramm-Bestandteils *NU-KÚŠ-ŠÀ*[3] die Beinamen *lâ âšibu* und *lâ âniḫu* "ruhelos." Der Name selbst wird in Z. 6 erklärt als *multêsir urâ almanâti* "der da verschliesst die Scham der Witwen." Dazu stimmen die folgenden Gleichungen: *NU-KÚŠ-ŠÀ* = *almattu* (Brünnow, 1999; Delitzsch, *HW*, 74), *NIGIN*[4] = *esêru* (VAT 10172, Vs. I, 52).[5] *IM-ŠÚ* muss dann irgendwie dem *urâ* "Scham" entsprechen, wenn auch eine solche Gleichung bisher nicht bezeugt ist. Der Gott des Gestirnes ist Almanu, der nach K 260, Z. 32 als Gatte der Išḫara gilt. Es kann sich also wenigstens an unserer Stelle schwerlich um den Planeten Venus handeln.

K 2740, 7 = K 260, 33 ist *mul ZAG-GAR* zu lesen (nicht *ZAG-A*, wie K 260 zu bieten scheint). *ZAG-GAR* ist Ideogramm für *amûtu* "Eingeweide, Vorzeichen" (Brünnow, 6527) und für *eširtu* "Tempel" (Brünnow, 6528; Meissner, *SAI*, 10901).

Die für K 260, 34 f. im *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 30 vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen werden durch K 2740, 8 f. bestätigt.

[1] K 260, 32 fügt noch hinzu: *mut* $^{d}$*Iš-ḫa-ra*. Ob auch in K 2740 so zu ergänzen ist, bleibt zweifelhaft, ist aber aus Platzgründen unwahrscheinlich.

[2] Vgl. K 250, I, 1 (*CT*, XXVI, 40) = K 4195, I, 4 (*ibid.*, 42), dazu Weidner, *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 7 f.

[3] Vgl. Brünnow, 6383, 6387.

[4] Mit Glosse *ni-gi-in*.

[5] Vgl. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 201.

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Mit K 2740, 9 = K 260, 35 endigt die Sternliste. Es schliesst sich nun eine Liste von Getreide- und Mehlarten an. Die Zeilen K 2740, 10–14 und K 260, 36–40, ergänzen sich gegenseitig:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10. [. . . . .] *A-$^{a-si}$TIR* | *sa-as-ḳu-[ú* | *mun-di kunâši]* |
| 11. [. . . . *L]AM-BUL-BUL* | *tu-ma-[gu* | *niḳ-ḳu]* |
| 12. [. . . . . .] *ZAB-GA* | [ | *aklu ba-nu-ú]* |
| 13. [. . . . . .] *UT* | *tap-p[i-in-nu* | *ku-uk-ku ellî-tu]* |
| 14. [. . . . . .]. . *KA* | *[pan-ni-gu* | *aklê$^{zun}$ III$^{a-an}$ . . .]* |

In Z. 10 ist *a-si* doch wohl sicher als Glosse zu *A-TIR* aufzufassen; Br. M. 32582, Rs. 21 (*CT*, XII, 28) gibt dafür die etwas abweichende Form *e-eš-a*. Für *saskû* und *mundi kunâši* s. Hrozný, *Getreide*, S. 118–24. — Zu Z. 11 vgl. Meissner, *Suppl.*, 69. Allerdings bezeichnet hier *niḳḳu* schwerlich den Teil eines Feigenbaumes. — In Z. 12 entspricht das *ZAB-GA* natürlich dem *banû*. Vgl. dazu Th. 1905, 4–9, 26, das oben Nr. 15 besprochen wurde. — Zu Z. 13 s. Jensen, *KB*, VI, 1, S. 485 f.

### *30. K 2902 (p. 127)*

Der Text war bereits von Craig, *Astrol.-Astron. Texts*, p. 90 und von Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, Ištar XXXVI veröffentlicht. Seine Neupublikation war aber keineswegs überflüssig, da Meek mehrere Versehen seiner Vorgänger verbessern konnte. Wichtig sind vor allem die beiden Tatsachen, die aus Virolleauds Veröffentlichung garnicht hervorgehen, dass der Text neubabylonisch geschrieben und zweispaltig abgefasst ist. Besonders der letztere Umstand ist von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung für das Verständnis dieses astrologischen Kommentars.

K 2902 ist ein Kommentar zu Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, 2. Suppl. L, Kolumne II+2. Suppl. CXIX. Leider hat Virolleaud die ersten neun Zeilen von CXIX nicht mitgeteilt. Ich glaube aber, dass die beiden genannten Texte unmittelbar aneinander anschliessen. Im einzelnen bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

K 2902, Vs. 2 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 12
K 2902, Vs. 4 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 13
K 2902, Vs. 6 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 14
K 2902, Vs. 7 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 16
K 2902, Vs. 8 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 17

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K 2902, Vs. 12 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 19 (?)
K 2902, Rs. 14 = 2. Suppl. L, Kol. II, 20
K 2902, Rs. 15 = 2. Suppl. CXIX, 10
K 2902, Rs. 16 = 2. Suppl. CXIX, 11
K 2902, Rs. 17 = 2. Suppl. CXIX, 42

Vs. 4. *sikirtu* bezieht sich wohl auf die "Einschliessung" der Venus durch Fixsterne, wovon anscheinend 2. Suppl. L, Kolumne II, 12 die Rede ist.

Vs. 6. Hier ist gewiss zu ergänzen: *UT-TÛN = t[aḫ-tu-ú]*. Vgl. Brünnow, 7848.

Vs. 7 f. Nach 2. Suppl. L, Kolumne II, 16 ist in Z. 7 zu lesen: *sa-pár*[1] *marrati ilmi*(!) "(Wenn Venus bei ihrem Aufgang) von einem Regenbogen-Netz umgeben ist." Die in Z. 8 kommentierte Angabe ("Wenn Venus bei ihrem Aufgang mit einem 'Regenbogen' bedeckt ist") beschreibt die gleiche meteorologische Erscheinung. Es handelt sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach um eine regenbogenfarbene Aureole, die sich um den Planeten Venus zieht. Ob *sa-pár* in Z. 7 phonetisch zu lesen ist, ist nicht ganz sicher; denn vgl. Sm. 9, Kolumne III, 6 (Meek, p. 175).

Vs. 9. Vgl. K 4339, Kolumne IV, 3 (*CT*, XXV, Pl. 13; Weidner, *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 124).

Vs. 10. Hier bietet Virolleaud sicher richtig gegen Meek: *šú-ta-tu-ú = mal-ma*(!)*-liš*[ ]. Die Gleichung ist sehr wichtig. *malmališ* bedeutet "in gleichmässiger Weise."[2] *šutatû* wird in den astrologischen Ominatexten, wie ich, *BA*, VIII, 4, S. 75 f. und *Babyloniaca*, VI, 84 f. gezeigt zu haben glaube, vorzugsweise dann gebraucht, wenn sich die untergehende Sonne und der aufgehende Vollmond am West- und Osthorizonte in gleicher Höhe über dem Horizont gegenüberstehen. Diese Erklärung wird nun wohl durch die Angabe unseres Kommentars gesichert. Vgl. auch Virolleaud, *Adad*, XXX, 9: *šú-ta-ḫu-ú* : *mal-ma-liš*, und dazu Boissier, *OLZ*, 1910, Sp. 74.

Vs. 12. Virolleauds Ausgabe ist hier folgendermassen zu verbessern: *KI* $^{d}$*EN-ZU*(!)*-NA = ni-pi-šu aš-šu . . .*[ ]. *nîpišu*,

[1] Vgl. Brünnow, 3126; Meissner, *SAI*, 1974; Delitzsch, *HW*, 509 und *SGl*, 66.
[2] S. Delitzsch, *HW*, 414 f.; Jensen, *KB*, VI, 1, 337, 420.

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eig. "Handlung, Verfahren,"[1] hier wohl im Sinne von "Zeremonie." Ist Meissner, *SAI*, 7311 f. zu vergleichen? Auch 2. Suppl. L, Kolumne II, 19 ist gewiss zu lesen: *[K]I $^{d}$EN-[Z]U.*

Vs. 16. Hier ist mit Meek gegen Virolleaud zu lesen: *mul MU-BU-SAR-DA šá tâmti* = $^{d}$*Ê-a . . .*[ ]. Vgl. V R 46, 37,[2] ferner Bezold, *SHAW*, 1913, 11, S. 59, Kugler, *Sternkunde, Ergänz.*, S. 214.

Vs. 17. Hier ist zu ergänzen: *ilu ma-ak-ru-ú* = $^{d}$*Z[AL-BE$^{a-nu}$]*. Vgl. Weidner, *OLZ*, 1914, Sp. 497–99.

### *31. K 2907 (pp. 128 f.)*

Dieser wichtige astrologische Kommentar war bereits von Craig, *Astrol.-Astron. Texts*, pp. 88 f. und von Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, Ištar VII veröffentlicht worden. Meek hat sich aber durch diese Neupublikation ein grosses Verdienst erworben, da er zahlreiche Versehen seiner Vorgänger richtig gestellt hat. Neu gewonnen sind die Zeilen Vs. 11 und Rs. 11, die Craig und Virolleaud bei ihrer Veröffentlichung übersehen hatten. Besonders wichtig ist, dass Meek die Längs- und Querlinien aufgenommen hat, sodass man jetzt erst den Charakter des Kommentars richtig erkennen kann.

K 2907 ist ein Kommentar zu den Tafeln 59 und 60 von *Enuma Anu $^{d}$Enlil* (Vs. 35. Ob. Rd. 4). Diese liegen uns, wie sich nun ohne weiteres erkennen lässt, in dem Texte Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, 2. Suppl. XLIX vor, der durch die von Scheil, *RA*, XIV (1917), 142–45 publizierte Tafel weiter fortgesetzt wird. Ich gebe nun im Folgenden zunächst eine vergleichende Tabelle (Zeilenzählung von Meek):

59. TAFEL

K 2907, Vs. 16–17 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 20–21
K 2907, Vs. 18 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 23
K 2907, Vs. 19 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 29
K 2907, Vs. 20 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 32
K 2907, Vs. 21 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 33
K 2907, Vs. 22 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 35
K 2907, Vs. 23 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 43
K 2907, Vs. 24 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 45

[1] Vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 119; Zimmern, *OLZ*, 1916, Sp. 321; Ungnad, *ibid.*, 364.
[2] Eine Erklärung des Sternnamens findet sich II R 47, Kol. IV, 16–22.

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K 2907, Vs. 25 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 46
K 2907, Vs. 31 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 61
K 2907, Vs. 32 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 62
K 2907, Vs. 33 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 63
K 2907, Vs. 34 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 68

60. TAFEL

K 2907, Vs. 36 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 73
K 2907, Rs. 1 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 77
K 2907, Rs. 2 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 79
K 2907, Rs. 3–4 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 84
K 2907, Rs. 6–7 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 94[1]
K 2907, Rs. 8 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 99[2]
K 2907, Rs. 9 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 100[3]
K 2907, Rs. 10 = 2. Suppl. XLIX, 100 f.[4]
K 2907, Rs. 11 = Scheil, *RA*, XVII, 144, Z. 12
K 2907, Rs. 12–13 = Scheil, *RA*, XVII, 144, Z. 14
K 2907, Rs. 14–15 = Scheil, *RA*, XVII, 144, Z. 15
K 2907, Rs. 16 = Scheil, *RA*, XVII, 144, Z. 15
K 2907, Rs. 17 = Scheil, *RA*, XVII, 144, Z. 19

Vs. 4. Meek richtig $^{d}U[D]$-*AL-TAR* statt Virolleauds $^{d}$*AL-TAR*.

Vs. 5. Vgl. 2. Suppl. XLIX, 14.

Vs. 7. Hier hat Virolleaud zweifellos richtig: [*šumma mul DIL-BAT ina* $^{arab}$*N]isanni ziḳna za-ḳin.* Die Erklärung: *kakkabâni*$^{pl}$ *ina id[i-ša izzazû*$^{pl}$*-ma*] beweist, dass meine Auffassung von 1. Suppl. XXXIII, 22 (in *OLZ*, 1919, Sp. 12[1]) zutreffend war.

Vs. 11. Hier ist natürlich zu ergänzen: *KÛR* = *ma-a-[tu]*.

Vs. 13. Diese Zeile könnte zu 2. Suppl. XLIX, 16 f. gehören, wo aber nach 1. Suppl. XXXV, 2 f. anders zu ergänzen ist. Das *MUL TUR* findet sich 1. Suppl. XXXV, 3 wieder. In der linken Spalte ist wohl zu ergänzen: [*NIGIN* = *la*]*-mu-u* (vgl. Brünnow, 10334; Meissner, *SAI*, 7885). Dann wäre das *NIGIN*$^{at}$ in 2. Suppl. XLIX, 17 und 19 *lâmat*$^{at}$ zu lesen.

Vs. 16. Vgl. 2. Suppl. CXVIII, 24 = Thompson, *Reports*, 268, Vs. 11 f.[5]

[1] Scheil, *RA*, XIV, 144, Z. 2. [2] Scheil, Z. 6. [3] Scheil, Z. 7. [4] Scheil, Z. 7 f.
[5] Vgl. Jeremias, *HAOG*, S. 191; Pinches, *Expos. Times*, XXX (1919), 4, p. 164.

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Vs. 18. Hier ist im Hinblick auf das *ta-kip* von 2. Suppl. XLIX, 20, natürlich zu lesen: *imitti-ša u šumêlti-ša sâmta tuk-kup*. *takâpu* (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 707; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 1158) bedeutet etwa "gefärbt, farbig sein," denn die Phrase *sâmta tâkip* (*tukkup*) "(Venus) war mit Röte gefärbt" wird hier erklärt, dass Merkur und Mars bei ihr standen. Auch *ṣarâpu*, das 2. Suppl. XLIX, 20, im Parallelismus mit *takâpu* steht und z.B. auch Vs. 24 unseres Kommentars und Thompson, *Reports*, 181, Vs. 1, vorkommt, wird dann eine ähnliche Bedeutung haben.

Vs. 19. Hiernach sind die "Grossen Zwillinge" Jupiter und Saturn, die "Kleinen Zwillinge" Merkur und Mars.

Vs. 20. Die Phrase "(Wenn Venus) im Meridian aufglänzt" wird hier mit Meek gegen Virolleaud erklärt: *ina manzâzi-ša ú-ša-at-tar-ma NIM-ma* "an ihrem Standort war sie überragend, stand sie hoch." *NIM* wohl Ideogramm für *elû*, s. Brünnow, 9013; Meissner, *SAI*, 6772.

Vs. 22. Hier ist zu lesen: *manzaz-za uttanakir*$^{ir}$ = *ma-'-diš i-šaḳ-ḳa-am-ma*.

Vs. 23. Der Schluss der Zeile ist gewiss zu fassen: *LAL-ša-ma*. *LAL* wohl eine Form von *tarâṣu* "ausstrecken."

Vs. 24. Vgl. oben zu Vs. 18.

Vs. 25. In 2. Suppl. XLIX, 46, wird von Venus gesagt, dass sie am 15. oder 16. Sivan *ši-ši-*[*ta*] mache. Dieses *ši-ši-ta* wird hier als *ḫi-il-lu* erklärt. Dazu ist VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 11–13 zu vergleichen, wo *ši-ši-tu* als *i-pu*, *ḫi-il-lu* und *i-ba-ḫu* erklärt wird (vgl. Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 105–108). *ḫillu* wird also ebenfalls "Mutterleib" bedeuten. Wie *šišîtu* dann hier als astronomischer terminus technicus aufzufassen ist, entzieht sich meiner Beurteilung.

Vs. 26. Vgl. K 2892, Rs. 1 (Craig, *Astrol.-Astron. Texts*, p. 90; Virolleaud, *ZA*, XVIII, S. 232).

Vs. 30. Vgl. 1. Suppl. XXXVI, 18, Kommentarstelle zu VAT 10218, Vs. II, 4.

Vs. 31. In 2. Suppl. XLIX, 61, ist also nicht *ina pâni-ša*, sondern *ina tâmarti-ša* zu lesen.

Vs. 33. Dieselbe Gleichung findet sich VAT 7813, Vs. 9. Vgl. auch Meissner, *SAI*, 5911.

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Vs. 34. Für die richtige Auffassung dieser Stelle vgl. bereits *OLZ*, 1912, Sp. 459. *ŠU = aḫû* auch K 2918, Vs. 3 (Meek, p. 130) und VAT 9718, Vs. I, 9.

Vs. 36. Zur Ergänzung von 2. Suppl. XLIX, 75 vgl. Thompson, *Reports*, 204, Rs. 1 f., 208, Vs. 2–4, 208*A*, Vs. 3 f.

Rs. 1. Hier ist gegen Virolleaud natürlich ganz phonetisch *zi-im-ru* "Gesang" zu lesen. Ebenso ist wohl am Ende der Zeile 2. Suppl. XLIX, 77, zu ergänzen. *zimru* wird hier als *alâlu* und *zamâru* erklärt.

Rs. 2. Vgl. 1. Suppl. XXXVI, 19, Kommentarstelle zu VAT 10218, Vs. II, 5.

Rs. 3. Hiernach kann 2. Suppl. XLIX, 84, vollständig ergänzt werden.

Rs. 5. Vgl. 2. Suppl. XLIX, 99.

Rs. 6. 2. Suppl. XLIX, 94 = Scheil, *RA*, XIV, 144, Z. 2 ist hiernach zu ergänzen. Unser Text und der Text Scheil bieten für das *UD-DÛG-GA* von 2. Suppl. XLIX die phonetische Schreibung *a-dan*. Die Gleichung *UD-DÛG-GA = adannu* ist VAT 10270, Vs. II, 55 bezeugt; ebenso ist wohl K 2022, Rs. 6 (*CT*, XVIII, 45) zu verbessern (Meissner, *SAI*, 5835).

Rs. 8. Vgl. V R 43, I, 37. 43, dazu Bork, *Memnon* IV, S. 85. 104 f.; Weidner, *ibid.*, V, S. 29 f. und *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 17; Landsberger, *LSSt*, VI, 1/2, S. 87 f.

Rs. 9. Die Gleichung $^{d}$*UD-AL-TAR* = Sin ist sehr wichtig. Sonst ist $^{d}$*UD-AL-TAR* ein Name des Planeten Jupiter (vgl. unseren Text, Vs. 4. Rs. 12). Zur Erklärung dieser neuen Gleichung muss ich etwas weiter ausholen. Nach unserem Text, Vs. 19 und Rs. 10 gelten Jupiter und Saturn als die "Grossen Zwillinge." Dagegen werden V R 46, 5 die "Grossen Zwillinge" als Sin und Nergal erklärt. Nergal ist hier, wie ich *OLZ*, 1913, Sp. 54 gezeigt habe, = Šamaš. Nun ist Šamaš ein ausserordentlich häufiger Name des Planeten Saturn.[1] Wenn also die "Grossen Zwillinge" 1. = Jupiter und Saturn, 2. = Sin und Šamaš sind, und Šamaš Saturn entspricht, so muss Jupiter = Sin sein. Das wird ausdrücklich bestätigt durch

[1] Vgl. auch Jensen, *Kosmologie*, S. 115 f.; Weidner, *BA*, VIII, 4, S. 84; Jastrow, *RA*, VII, 163 ff. und *Religion*, II, S. 483, Anm. 4.

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Harper, *Letters* 78, Rs. 5, wo es heisst: *mul SAG-ME-GAR $^{d}$Sin šú-u* "Jupiter, der Mond ist er."[1]

Rs. 13. Die Gleichung *BAR-SUD* = $^{amêl}$*nakru* ist neu. Bei Scheil, *RA*, XIV, 144, Z. 14 ist wahrscheinlich zu lesen: *palû unakkir$^{ir}$ [BAR-SUD] iṭeḫḫi.*

Rs. 14 f. Die Gleichungen $^{d}$*LUGAL-GIR-RA* = Merkur und $^{d}$*MES-LAM-TA-È-A* = Mars finden sich auch Virolleaud, Ištar VI, 5 f. Die ersten fünf Zeilen dieses Textes[2] sind ebenfalls ein Kommentar zu Scheil, *RA*, XIV, 144, Z. 15–17, die danach ergänzt werden können. Ueberhaupt ist Ištar VI ebenso wie K 2907 ein Kommentar zu 2. Suppl. XLIX (und zwar zur 2. Hälfte = Tafel 60) und gestattet, einen wesentlichen Teil der verloren gegangenen Schlussabschnitte dieses Textes zu rekonstruieren.

Rs. 16. Im Hinblick auf Ištar VI, 1–3 ist Scheil, *RA*, XIV, 144, Z. 15 f. zu ergänzen: [15]*šumma mul DIL-BAT ina $^{arab}$Araḫsamna $^{d}$Sin $^{d}$LUGAL-GIR-RA $^{d}$MES-LAM-TA-È ina bi-[rit SI MUL-MUL]* [16]*KI-MIN mul Enzu ittanmaru-ma ûmu III$^{kan}$ izzazu KI-MIN izzazû$^{pl}$-ma.* Dann liegt es, wenn wir Ištar VI, 9 zum Vergleich heranziehen, ausserordentlich nahe, in Rs. 16 unseres Textes zu ergänzen: *MUL-M[UL aš-]šu $^{d}$LU-BAD$^{pl}$.*

Rs. 17. Hier ist wahrscheinlich zu ergänzen: *[GÚ-ŠUB-BA = zi-nu-u GÚ-Š]UB-BA = sa-ba-su.* Die beiden Gleichungen finden sich VAT 9718, Vs. II, 8 f. ebenfalls nebeneinander. Scheil, *RA*, XIV, 144, Z. 19 ist dann zu lesen: *šarru itti*(!) *nišê$^{pl}$-šu zî[ni].*

Rs. 25. Zu $^{ba-a}$*BÀ* = *a-mu-tum* vgl. bereits *Memnon*, VI, S. 126, Anm. 1. Dieselbe Gleichung findet sich VAT 9718, Vs. I, 10. Klauber, *Polit.-rel. Texte*, S. L, Anm. 1 hat dann darauf hingewiesen, dass die in Ominatexten häufig vorkommende Phrase *EŠ$^{ut}$* des Königs X: *amût$^{ut}$* zu lesen ist. Vgl. auch VAT 5599, wo mehrmals die phonetische Schreibung *a-mu-ut* vorkommt.

Rs. 26. Hier ist nach Rm II, 38, Vs. 24 (*Babyloniaca*, VI, Pl. IV; Meek, p. 184) zu ergänzen: [$^{d}$*Nin-]urta* = $^{d}$*LU-BAD [GÚ-UD]*. Vgl. *Babyloniaca*, VI, 87 f.

[1] Vgl. bereits *Handb. d. babyl. Astr.*, I, S. 55, ferner Behrens, *LSSt*, II, 1, S. 72 ff.; Ylvisaker, *ibid.*, V, 6, S. 47, Anm. 3. Nach einer anderen Ueberlieferung werden Sonne und Jupiter gleichgesetzt. Ebeling, *KAR*, III, 94, Z. 48 heisst es: $^{d}$*Šamaš mul SAG-ME-GAR šú-u* (vgl. Zimmern, *ZA*, XXX, S. 194). S. auch *OLZ*, 1919, Sp. 13, Anm. 1.

[2] In Z. 1 lies *ina $^{arab}$Araḫsamna*(!).

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Rs. 27. $^{d}$*ŠÚ-PA* = $^{d}$*SAG-*[*ME-GAR*]. Vgl. Bezold bei Boll, *Farbige Sterne*, S. 103, 109.

Die Unterschriften in den Zeilen 35 und Ob. Rd. 4 lehren, dass der Text 2. Suppl. XLIX, Anfang bis Zeile 70 (Monat Nisan bis Tammuz) die 59. Tafel, Zeile 71 bis Schluss (Monat Ab bis Adar) die 60. Tafel der Serie *Enuma Anu* $^{d}$*Enlil* darstellt. Laut Unterschrift (Z. 30) ist der Text 1. Suppl. XXXVI ein Kommentar zur 61. Tafel von *Enuma Anu* $^{d}$*Enlil*, die in VAT 10218 vorliegt. Wir gewinnen damit also drei fortlaufende Tafeln des grossen astrologischen Ominawerkes.

### *32. Rm II, 38 (pp. 184 f.)*

Dieser astrologische Kommentar war schon von Weidner nach einer Kopie Virolleauds in *Babyloniaca*, VI, 77–97 (Pls. IV–V) veröffentlicht und ausführlich besprochen worden. Beide Kopien stimmen fast völlig überein, sodass es sich erübrigt, hier noch einmal näher auf den Text einzugehen. Ein wesentlicher Vorteil der Kopie Meeks ist allerdings, dass sie die beiden Trennungslinien in der Mitte angibt und dadurch den Charakter des Kommentars schärfer hervortreten lässt. Nur drei Kleinigkeiten seien hier noch bemerkt:

Vs. 6. Hier ist in der rechten Spalte mit Meek sicher *ḪUL libbi* zu lesen.

Vs. 8. In der rechten Spalte ist mit Meek $^{šár}$*šadû kun-*[ ] zu lesen.

Vs. 14. Diese Zeile ist eine Glossenzeile zu Z. 13. [*NE*]*-GAR-ša i-še-ra* wird als [*nu*]*-ri-ša i-ši-ra* glossiert.

Ich bemerke noch, dass ich in meinem damaligen Kommentar in *Babyloniaca*, VI natürlich heute manches wesentlich anders fassen würde und die Untersuchung in einigen Punkten nicht unbeträchtlich weiter führen könnte. Dazu ist aber hier nicht der Ort.

## V. KOMMENTARE ZU DEN GEBURTSOMINATEXTEN

### *33. K 1913 (p. 120)*

Dieser Text ist ein Kommentar zu den Tafeln X–XII der grossen Geburtsomina-Serie *šumma iz-bu*.

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Von dem Kommentar zu *Tafel X*[1] ist nur der Anfang der Unterschrift in Z. 1 der Vorderseite erhalten: *ṣa-a-tum* . . . . "Auszug . . . .".

Der Kommentar zu *Tafel XI*[2] umfasst die Zeilen Vs. 2–Rs. 3. Diese Tafel lässt sich aus K 3998 (*CT*, XXVII, Pls. 37 f.) und K 126 (*ibid.*, 33 f.) fast vollständig wiederherstellen. Die Vorderseite von K 126 schliesst sich, was bisher nicht bemerkt worden ist, unmittelbar an die Vorderseite von K 3998 an, während die Rückseite von K 3998 die direkte Fortsetzung von K 126 bildet. Im einzelnen ist nun zu den Angaben des Kommentars Folgendes zu bemerken:

Vs. 2 (=K 3998, Vs. 5 f.; Dennefeld, 120; Fossey, 86 f.; Jastrow, 853): *pa-ar-ṣa-at*(!) = *pa-ar-*[ ]. Wie die rechte Spalte zu ergänzen ist, bleibt unsicher. Die Bedeutung von *parṣat* ist jedenfalls "ist abgetrennt."

Vs. 3 f. (=K 3998, Vs. 7 f.; Dennefeld: Fossey: Jastrow, *ibid.*): [3]*IGI*[pl] *ali* = *ši-bu-ut ali* [4]*IGI* : *ši-i-bu* : *LÚ* : *šar-ru*. Die Deutungen von K 3998, Vs. 7 f. sind also, abweichend von den bisherigen Erklärern, zu lesen: [7]*šîbût*[pl] *ali uṣṣû* "die Aeltesten der Stadt werden hinausziehen" und [8]*šarru šîbût*[pl] *mât nakri ušêṣi* "der König wird die Aeltesten des Feindeslandes hinaustreiben." Sehr wichtig ist die Gleichung *IGI* = *šîbu* "Aeltester." Sie war schon von Bezold, *ZA*, IV, S. 432, notiert worden, ist aber sowohl von ihm wie von Meissner, *SAI*, 7000 missverstanden worden. Für die Aeltesten vgl. besonders Walther, *LSSt*, VI, 4/6, S. 52–63. Wichtig ist ferner die Gleichung *LÚ* = *šar-ru* (vgl. Brünnow, 6407). Sie lehrt, dass das *LÚ* in K 3998 Vs. 8 nicht Determinativ ist.

Vs. 5 f. (=K 3998, Vs. 9; Dennefeld: Fossey: Jastrow, *ibid.*): [5]*mâta it-tum LU*[pl] = *mâta še-e-ḫu i-ṣab-bat* [6]*maḫ-ḫu-ú* = *še-ḫa-a-nu*. K 3998, Vs. 9 bietet statt *it-tum* : *is-ḫi-a-tum*, und da alle bisherigen Ausgaben so lesen, wird es auch wirklich auf dem Original stehen. Ohne Zweifel liegt hier ein Fehler des assyrischen Schreibers vor. *ittu* "Vorzeichen" wird in K 1913 als *šêḫu* gedeutet, zu dessen Erklärung in der folgenden Zeile die Gleichung *maḫḫû* = *šêḫânu* hinzugefügt wird. Der *maḫḫû* ist, wie Landsberger, *GGA*, 1915, S. 366

[1] S. Dennefeld, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburts-Omina*, S. 110–14; Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, V, 78–85.

[2] Vgl. Dennefeld, *a.a.O.*, S. 114–28; Fossey, *a.a.O.*, 86–103; Jastrow, *Religion*, II, S. 852–59.

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treffend übersetzt, ein "mit Visionen begabter Ekstatiker." Also wird *šêḫânu* ein Mann sein, der Visionen hat, und *šêḫu* einfach "Vision" bedeuten. Damit wird die Gleichsetzung von *ittu* und *šêḫu* aufs beste bestätigt. Wie sich dazu nun weiter die Gleichung *šêḫu* = *šâru* verhält (s. Ebeling, *VAB*, II, S. 1520), ist mir noch nicht klar.

Vs. 7 f. (= K 3998, Vs. 11 f.; Dennefeld: Jastrow, *ibid.*; Fossey, p. 88 f.): [7]*šat-ga-at* = *sal-ta-at* [8]*DAR* : *ša-ta-ḳu* *DAR* : *sa-la-tum*. Die beiden Gleichungen von Z. 8 finden sich ebenso VAT 9718, Vs. III, 17 f., nur dass dort noch den Ideogrammen die Glosse *da-ar* beigefügt ist (vgl. auch Brünnow, 3492; Meissner, *SAI*, 2240, 2248). Die Bedeutung beider Verben ist etwa "abquetschen, zerquetschen, zerschneiden" (s. Jastrow, *Religion*, II, S. 254[6]; Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 127[5]; Christian, *OLZ*, 1914, Sp. 397[1]).

Vs. 8. *uš-mat uš-ma*(!)-*ti* = *iddâk*[*ak*]. Diese Kommentarzeile gehört zu dem nur lückenhaft erhaltenen Stück von K 3998, das mit Vs. 27 beginnt. Die Schreibung *uš-ma*(!)-*ti* sollte wohl nur die Lesung *uš-mat* sicherstellen. Im übrigen fügt die Gleichung unseren Kenntnissen nichts Neues hinzu (vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 395).

Vs. 9 (= K 216, Vs. 9; Dennefeld, 115; Fossey, 98 f.; Jastrow, 857[2]): *šu-ul-lu-ḳa* = *ša ma-'-diš sal-ta*. *šalâḳu* bedeutet "aufschneiden, ausreissen" (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 666; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 1047).[1] Es ist ein sinnverstärkendes Synonymum von *salâtu* (s. oben), mit dem es das Ideogramm *DAR* gemeinsam hat (s. Meissner, *SAI*, 2245).

Vs. 11 (= K 216, Vs. 11; Dennefeld: Fossey, *ibid.*): *i-la-an* = *ilâni*[*pl*] "Götter."

Vs. 12 (= K 216, Vs. 12 f.; Dennefeld: Fossey: Jastrow, *ibid.*): [*ka*]-*as-ra* = *aš-šu* *ḫi-si-ru*. Das Verbum *ḫesêru* hat nach Br. M. 47760, Vs. II, 5 (*CT*, XII, 14) die Bedeutung "schneiden." Es wird also hier das Verbum *kasâru* "abschneiden, abdämmen" (Delitzsch, *HW*, 345), nicht *ḳaṣâru*, wie man bisher annahm, vorliegen.

Vs. 13 (= K 216, Rs. 3; Dennefeld, 116; Fossey, 100 f.; Jastrow, 857[2]): [*ka*]*š*(!)[2]-*da* = *ka-aš-du*.

Vs. 14 (= K 216, Rs. 8; Dennefeld: Fossey, *ibid.*): [*maš*]-*da* = *ma-aš-da*.

[1] S. ferner Holma, *Personennamen der Form quttulu*, S. 87, und *Weitere Beiträge zum assyr. Lexikon*, S. 11; Landsberger, *GGA*, 1915, S. 366.

[2] Oder ist [*ka*]-*dš-da* zu ergänzen?

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Vs. 15 (=K 216, Rs. 20; Dennefeld, 117; Fossey, 102 f.; Jastrow, 858): [*ba-an*]-*ti*=*pa-an-du*. Zu *bântu-pându* "Bauch" vgl. Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 55 ff.; Zimmern, *ZA*, XXXIII, S. 24[2].

Rs. 1 f. sind wahrscheinlich zu ergänzen: [1][*NUN-ka ana mât nakri* ḪA-*A*][it]=*ka-bit-ka ana mât nakri in-nab-bit* [2][ ][1] ḪA-*A*=*na-bu-tum*. Die Deutung in Z. 1 ist zu übersetzen: "dein Grosser wird ins Feindesland fliehen." Sie gehört zu einer der Zeilen, die am Schluss der Rückseite von K 216 oder am Anfang der Rückseite von K 3998 nur sehr verstümmelt erhalten sind. Die in Z. 2 notierte Gleichung war schon bekannt (vgl. Brünnow, 11857; Meissner, *SAI*, 9106; K 8209, 12=Meek, p. 158).

Rs. 3 bringt dann die Unterschrift dieses Abschnittes: [*ṣa-a-tum ša šum-ma*] *iz-bu uznu imittu-šu lâ ibši* "Auszug aus: Wenn bei einem Neugeborenen das rechte Ohr nicht vorhanden ist." Vgl. Dennefeld, S. 120, Z. 1; Fossey, p. 86, Z. 1; Jastrow, S. 852.

Von Zeile 4 der Rückseite an zerfällt der Text in zwei Kolumnen. Die erste Kolumne behandelt sicher die *Tafel XII*[2] von *šumma iz-bu*, ob auch die zweite Kolumne, ist nicht so sicher, aber wahrscheinlich. Leider liegt die Tafel XII nur in wenig umfangreichen Bruchstücken vor (s. Dennefeld, S. 128–36), sodass die wichtigen Kommentarangaben von K 1913 nur zum kleinsten Teil verwendet werden können. Ich beschränke mich daher auf wenige Bemerkungen:

Rs. I, 4: vgl. Brünnow, 6099.

I, 5 (=K 3697, Vs. 9 f.; Dennefeld, 128 f.; Fossey, 104 f.): *GUL*=*rim-tum*. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 6725.

I, 6 (=K 3697, Vs. 12; Dennefeld, 129; Fossey, 106 f.): $^{uzu}$*IM-ka*=*ra*(!)-*ma*(!)-*ni-ka*. In K 3697, Vs. 12 ist daher zu ergänzen $^{uzu}$*ra-ma*-[*ni-ka*]. Zu *IM*=*ramânu* s. Brünnow, 8367.

I, 7 (=K 3697, Vs. 15; Dennefeld: Fossey, *ibid.*): *DIR GAB*=*ma*(!)-*li-e ir*(!)-*ti*. In K 3697, Vs. 15 steht *DIR*[e] *GAB*. Es liegt hier sicherlich das Verbum *malû* "mit einer Hautkrankheit behaftet sein" (s. Holma, *Kl. Beitr.*, S. 12; Landsberger, *OLZ*, 1914, Sp. 264) vor.[3] Zu *DIR*=*malû* vgl. Brünnow, 3739.

[1] Fehlt wohl nichts.

[2] Vgl. Dennefeld, S. 128–36; Fossey, pp. 104–9.

[3] An *malû* "Trauerkleid, Trauer" ist doch wohl weniger zu denken (vgl. Jensen, *KB*, VI, 1, S. 401; Daiches, *ZA*, XVII, S. 92 f.; Landsberger, *OLZ*, 1914, Sp. 264; Ehelolf, ZDMG, LXVII, S. 510; dazu VAT 9718, Vs. III, 74: *ma-la-a*=*bi-ki-tu*).

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I, 9 (=K 3697, Vs. 31; Dennefeld: Fossey, *ibid.*): *MAŠ=za-'-zu.* Das Omen ist also zu lesen: *šumma iz-bu na-ḫir-šu I-ma izûz-ma* "Wenn ein Neugeborenes nur ein Nasenloch hat und dieses gehälftet ist."

I, 10 (=K 3697, Vs. 29 f.; Dennefeld: Fossey, *ibid.*): *ṣir-ri-ta=tu-lu-ú* "weibliche Brust." Vgl. Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 47.

II, 5: *la-ak pî-šu=e-rib*(!) *pi-šu.* Diese Zeile wird auch von Pinches, *JRAS*, 1912, p. 833 zitiert, doch liest dieser in der rechten Spalte *ša-me-e pi-šu.* Ich glaube indessen, dass hier Meek die richtige Lesung bietet. Aus dem Parallelismus *la-ak* || *e-rib* und der Variante *a-lik* für *la-ak* ergibt sich, dass hier tatsächlich das Verbum *alâku* vorliegt (s. *Babyloniaca*, VI, 6[3], gegen Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 24 f. und Zimmern, *ZA*, XXXIII, S. 22[4]).

II, 8: *ti-ir=man-za-az pa-an.* Vgl. Zimmern bei Hehn, *BA*, V, S. 349.

II, 9: *ZAG-GA=ka-an-zu-zu.* Dieselbe Gleichung findet sich VAT 9718, Vs. II, 20, wo zu *ZAG-GA* noch die Glosse *za-a-ga* hinzugefügt ist. S. ferner Assur 4203, I, 5, und dazu Zimmern, *ZA*, XXXIII, S. 21.

II, 10: *a-ru-bi=su-ḫa-tum.* Ebenso VAT 9718, Vs. II, 80: *a-ru-b(p)u=su-ḫa-tú. suḫatu* ist als Name eines Körperteils bekannt; s. Boissier, *RA*, VIII, 38 und K 4159, 3 (Jastrow, *ZA*, IV, S. 157), wo *su-ḫa-tum* neben *isu* "Kiefer" genannt wird (vgl. Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 755; Meissner, *Suppl.*, 71). Diese letztere Tatsache macht es mir auch sehr zweifelhaft, ob mit *a-ru-bi* das Wort *aruppu* "Mähne" gemeint ist (Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 141). Dagegen sprechen auch die Angaben von K 4129+7046, 3–5 (Dennefeld, S. 141; Fossey, pp. 116 f.).

### *34. K 2918 (pp. 130 f.*

Dieser Text ist ein Kommentar zur sechsten und siebenten Tafel von *šumma iz-bu* (Vs. 1–12=Tafel VI, Vs. 13–Schluss=Tafel VII). Er bietet inhaltlich viele Parallelen zu dem grossen Ominakommentar VAT 9718, der unten eingehend besprochen wird (dort Vs. III, 51–73=Tafel VI, Vs. III, 74–IV, 20=Tafel VII), ist aber ausführlicher als dieser gehalten. Leider ist K 2918 zum Teil stark beschädigt. Andererseits wirkt auch die Tatsache sehr hinderlich,

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dass von der siebenten Tafel von *šumma iz-bu* nur unbedeutende Bruchstücke erhalten sind.

TAFEL VI[1]

K 2918, Vs. 3 (=Dennefeld, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburts-Omina*, S. 82, Z. 6=Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, V, 65, Z. 15): *ŠU : kiš-šat : ŠU : a-ḫu-ú.* Die Tatsache, dass man mit gleichem Rechte sowohl *šar kiššati* "König des Alls" als auch *šarru aḫû* "ein fremder König" lesen konnte, machte die Deutung in der erwünschtesten Weise zweideutig. Dieselben Gleichungen nebeneinander VAT 9718, Vs. I, 8–9.

Vs. 6 (=Dennefeld, S. 84, Z. 3=Fossey, p. 66, Z. 48): *a-[lid] aš-šu la-'-a-ti.* Dazu VAT 9718, Vs. III, 70 f.: *a-lid=la-'-it, a-lid=e-ru-ub.* Das Omen "Wenn ein Neugeborenes ein anderes gebiert" ist also so zu verstehen, dass die Zwillinge ineinander übergehen. Daher wird *alâdu* als *la'âtu* "verschlingen" (s. Meissner, *MVAG*, 1910, 5, S. 42 f.) und *erêbu* "eindringen" erklärt.

Vs. 7 (=Dennefeld, S. 84, Z. 4 f.=Fossey, p. 66, Z. 49 f.): *bi-[lu-um]=pi-lu-ú.* S. schon Dennefeld, S. 88. *pilû* wahrscheinlich "Foetus."

Vs. 8 (=Dennefeld, S. 84, Z. 8=Fossey, p. 66, Z. 53): *šú-t[a-gu-ru]=[ . ]ša e-gi-ru. egêru* bedeutet "kreuzen" (s. oben Nr. 16). Das Omen ist also zu übersetzen: "Wenn ein Neugeborenes, sein Leib doppelt(und) gekreuzt ist."

Vs. 11. Diese Kommentarzeile gehört wohl zu Dennefeld, S. 85, Z. 27=Fossey, p. 68, Z. 72.

Vs. 12. Hier war die erste Zeile der Tafel VI als Unterschrift angegeben. Da uns diese noch nicht bekannt ist, bleibt eine Ergänzung vorläufig unmöglich.

TAFEL VII[2]

Vs. 13 (=VAT 9718, Vs. III, 75 f.): *EN=be-lu, EN=šar-rum.*

Vs. 20 (=VAT 9718, Vs. III, 81): *ul-lu-ṣu=ra-bu-ú. ulluṣu* muss, da es als *rabû* erklärt wird, hier die Bedeutung "üppig sein" haben (vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 76).

[1] S. Dennefeld, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geburts-Omina*, S. 80–100; Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, V, 62–71; Jastrow, *Religion*, II, S. 845–50.

[2] S. Dennefeld, *Geburts-Omina*, S. 101–4; Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, V, 70–73, 74–77.

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Vs. 22. Die entsprechenden Zeilen VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 1–3 enthalten noch *as-ḳ[u- . . . . . .]*. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach gehört diese Kommentarangabe zu Dennefeld, S. 103, Rs. 4 = Fossey, p. 76, Z. 19, sodass *as-ḳ[u-bi-tu]* "Höcker, Buckel" (s. Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 141 f.; Zimmern, *ZA*, XXX, S. 289, Z. 20–25) zu ergänzen sein wird. Leider ist in VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 1–3 durchgängig die rechte Spalte fortgebrochen. Es scheint aber, dass K 2918, Rs. 1 ebenfalls noch hierhergehört, ja dass die rechte Spalte von Vs. 22 nach der linken Spalte von Rs. 1 zu ergänzen ist. *aṣkubitu* wäre dann erklärt als *šêru kîma* $^{iš}$*šalluri nâsiḫ*$^{iḫ}$ "das Fleisch ist wie *šalluru* herausgezogen." *šalluru* (s. Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 1048; Meissner, *Suppl.*, 95) ist ein Nutzbaum, der, wie K 4575, 5 (Boissier, *Choix de textes*, II, 1, p. 35) lehrt, eine essbare Frucht trägt. Bei Meissner, *MVAG*, 1913, 2, S. 18, Z. 48 wird er neben *kameššaru* "Birnbaum" genannt. Es wird sich also wahrscheinlich um einen ähnlichen Baum, vielleicht um den Apfelbaum, handeln. Mit der Rundung seiner Frucht wird hier anscheinend der Buckel verglichen. Um ein ähnliches Thema scheint es sich in K 9180, 4 (Meek, p. 163) zu handeln.

Rs. 4: *da-kiš = ra-bi*. VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 4–6, bietet drei Aequivalente für *da-ka-šu*, von denen die beiden ersten abgebrochen sind; das dritte ist nach unserer Stelle zu *ra-b[u-u]* zu ergänzen. *dakâšu* bedeutet also "gross sein" (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 217).

Rs. 5: *IGI-UT GAB = ḫa-ba-ra-at-tum*. Dazu VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 7 f.: $^{7}$*IGI-UT GAB : DIR GAB IGI-UT GAB* : [. . . . . .] $^{8}$*IGI-UT GAB = ḫa-ba-r[a-at-tum]*. *IGI-UT GAB* wird also zunächst als *DIR GAB* gedeutet. Dafür finden wir wieder in K 1913, Rs. I, 7 die Erklärung *ma-li-e ir-ti* "Hauterkrankung der Brust" (s. oben Nr. 33). Eine ähnliche Bedeutung wird dann *ḫabarattu* haben. Ist statt *IGI-UT* vielleicht *IGI*$^{ut}$ zu lesen?

Rs. 8 f. (= Dennefeld, S. 103, Rs. 5 = Fossey, p. 76, Z. 20): $^{8}$*e-pi-iḳ = ṣu-u-pi* : *ḳa-a-lu* $^{9}$*up-pu-ḳu = ṣu-up-p[u]*. Dazu VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 16: *e-pi-ḳu = up-pu-ḳu* und II, 77: *up-pu-ḳu = ṣu-up-pu* (zu Dennefeld, S. 74, Z. 18 = Fossey, p. 54, Z. 63). Wenn man die Stellen in den Geburtsomina prüft, wo *epêḳu* vorkommt (s. Fossey, p. 221), so kommt man zu dem Schlusse, dass es allerdings kaum etwas Anderes bedeuten kann als "verschliessen" (s. Delitzsch,

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*HW*, 115, Dennefeld und Fossey). Dann dürften *ṣâpu* II, 1 und *ḳâlu* eine ähnliche Bedeutung haben.

Rs. 10 (VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 9): *na-mur-ra-ti*[1] = *pu-luḫ-[tu]*. Vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 427, Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 688.

Rs. 13: *bur-ru-um GUN* : *pa-* . . . [ ]. VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 10 bietet dafür *bur-ru(m)-rum* = *su-* . . . . [ ]. Ohne Zweifel hat hier VAT 9718 die richtige Lesung, denn dieses *bur-ru(m)-rum* kehrt K 7626, II, 21 (Meek, p. 153) wieder, wo es neben *naḳâru* genannt wird und mit diesem dass Ideogramm *BAL* gemeinsam hat. *burruru* ist nun wohl II, 1 jenes *barâru*, das K 12021, Rs. 17 (*CT*, XVIII, 5) als Synonymum von *palâmu* genannt wird, denn *palâmu* kommt wieder im Parallelismus mit *nakâru*, *nakru* vor (Delitzsch, *HW*, 515, Meissner, *Suppl.*, 76). Da *palâmu* neben *nukkuru*, *šanû* und *aḫû* genannt wird (82, 9–18, 4154, Vs. I, 6 = Meissner, *Suppl. Autogr.*, 28), so dürfte es "anders werden, sich ändern" bedeuten. Die gleiche Bedeutung würde dann trotz des *naḳâru* von K 7626 (*BAL* sonst auch = *nakâru*!) *burruru* haben. An unserer Stelle wäre dann also die Auslassung eines *ru* anzunehmen und *bur-ru-(ru-)um* zu ergänzen. Ist in der rechten Spalte eine Ergänzung *pa-l[a(!)-mu]* gestattet?

Rs. 14–16: *ši-ši-tú* = *i-p[u]*, *ši-ši-tú* = *e-ba-ḫ[u]*, *[ši]-ši-tú* = *ḳu(!)-lip-t[ú]*. *šišitu* bedeutet bekanntlich "Mutterleib" (Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 107 f.). Die gleiche Bedeutung haben *ipu* und *ebaḫu* (*ibid.*, 105 f.). Dagegen hat *ḳuliptu* mit "Mutterleib" nichts zu tun. Es bedeutet nach Holma, S. 146, vielleicht "Schuppe" (s. aber Jensen, *KB*, VI, 2, S. 3*). In VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 11–15 finden wir als Synonyma von *šišitu* angegeben: *i-pu*, *ḫi-il-lu*, *i-ba-ḫu*, *ḳu-lip-tu*, *šir-a-nu*. *ḫillu*, das zwischen *ipu* und *ibaḫu* steht, wird ebenfalls "Mutterleib" bedeuten (s. auch K 2907, Vs. 25 und dazu oben Nr. 31). Dagegen ist das *šišitu*, das *ḳuliptu* und *širânu* "Sehne, Gelenk, Muskel" (Holma, S. 4–6) gleichgesetzt wird, gewiss ein anderes Wort. Ich vermute, dass es sich hier um *sisîtu* handelt, das nach Ehelolf bei Jensen, *KB*, VI, 2, S. 8* "Gelenk" bedeutet.

Rs. 19. Hier ist gewiss *[ki]-e-el* zu ergänzen, das in VAT 9718, Vs. IV, 18 als *ṣu-up-pu* erklärt wird (vgl. oben zu Rs. 8).

[1] VAT 9718: *tú*.

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*35. K 4171 (pp. 136 f.), K 8209 (p. 158), K 11193 (p. 169), Sm 19 (p. 177)*

Diese vier Texte gehören sämtlich einem grossen Kommentar zu der babylonischen Geburtsomina-Serie *šumma iz-bu* an und sind wahrscheinlich auch sämtlich Stücke der gleichen Tafel. Ein Duplikat aus Assur, das festzustellen gestattet, zu welchen Tafeln von *šumma iz-bu* die einzelnen Fragmente gehören, und das weiterhin umfangreiche Ergänzungen ermöglicht, ist VAT 9718. Dieser Text umfasst auf Vorder- und Rückseite je vier Kolumnen zu je etwa 85 Zeilen, lieferte also, als er vollständig war, nicht weniger als 650–700 Zeilen höchst wertvoller Kommentarangaben. Heute liegt nur noch die Vorderseite, die die Tafeln I–IX von *šumma iz-bu* behandelt, in einem zum grössten Teile gut erhaltenen Zustande vor. Von der Rückseite ist der weitaus grösste Teil der Oberfläche fortgebrochen oder bis zur Unleserlichkeit verwischt.

K 4171 ist das umfangreichste der vier Fragmente. Seine Vorderseite enthält einen Kommentar zur ersten Tafel von *šumma iz-bu* und ist Duplikat zu VAT 9718, Vs. I, 12–54.

An die letzte Zeile der Vorderseite von K 4171 schliesst sich unmittelbar die erste Kolumne der Vorderseite von Sm 19[1] an. Sie ist ein Duplikat zu VAT 9718, Vs. I, 54–69 und immer noch ein Kommentar zu ersten Tafel von *šumma iz-bu*.

Auf der Vorderseite von Sm 19 ist auch noch ein Stück der zweiten Kolumne erhalten. Unmittelbar darüber ist K 11193 anzufügen. Beide bilden einen Kommentar zur vierten Tafel von *šumma iz-bu*. K 11193 ist Duplikat zu VAT 9718, Vs. II, 33–44, Sm 19, Vs. II Duplikat zu VAT 9718, Vs. II, 54–60.

K 8209 enthält ein Stück des Kommentars zu den Tafel X–XII von *šumma iz-bu*. Es ist ein Duplikat zu VAT 9718, Rs. I, 19–32.

Die Rückseite von Sm 19 schliesst oben unmittelbar an die Rückseite von K 4171 an. Die linke Kolumne dieser Rückseite und die sie unmittelbar fortsetzende Rückseite von K 4171 sind ein Kommentar zu den Tafeln XXII–XXIV von *šumma iz-bu*. Die Zeilen 10–29 von K 4171, Rs. sind ein Duplikat zu VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 1–21. Die

[1] Vorder- und Rückseite sind bei Meek vertauscht.

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vorhergehenden Zeilen (auch Sm 19) haben in VAT 9718 bereits am Ende der dritten Kolumne der Rückseite gestanden und sind heute verloren. Die rechte Kolumne der Rückseite von Sm 19 wird etwa einen Kommentar zu den Tafeln XVII oder XVIII von *šumma iz-bu* darstellen. Das entsprechende Stück von VAT 9718, das dort am Schluss der zweiten Kolumne der Rückseite stand, ist ebenfalls abgebrochen.

Ich gehe nun zur Einzelbesprechung über.

*a*) K 4171, VS+SM 19, VS. I[1]

K 4171, Vs. 1 (=VAT 9718, Vs. I, 12): *PAL š[arri TIL]*. In VAT 9718, I, 13–16 folgen als Erklärungen: $^{pa-al}PAL = \hat{u}mu^{mu}$ und *ku-us-su-u*, $^{ti-il}TIL = ḳa\text{-}tu\text{-}u$ und *ga-ma-rum*. Die entsprechende Deutung in der 1. Tafel von *šummu iz-bu* ist fortgebrochen.

Vs. 2[2] (=VAT 9718, I, 17=Fossey, p. 4, Z. 42; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 22): $[^{ni-iš}NIŠ = ša\text{-}nu\text{-}u]$. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 7536.

Vs. 3 f. (=VAT 9718, I, 18 f.=Fossey, p. 4, Z. 42; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 22): $^{3}MA\text{-}D[AM = ḫi\text{-}iṣ\text{-}bu]$, $^{4}ḫi\text{-}iṣ\text{-}bu = [bu\text{-}šú\text{-}u]$. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 4875 (zu verbessern!). Die Deutung des Omens ist zu fassen: *mâtu MA(!)-DAM(!)-ša kabta ú-maš-šar* "das Land wird seine schwere Habe im Stich lassen."

Vs. 5 (=VAT 9718, I, 20=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 43): *na-an-še-e mâti* = *[ḪA-A mâti]*. Vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 143. Die Deutung des Omens ist entsprechend zu verbessern und zu ergänzen.

Vs. 6 (=VAT 9718, I, 21): $SU\text{-}KÚ = [bu\text{-}bu\text{-}tu]$.

Vs. 7 (=VAT, 9718, I, 22=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 46; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 24): *AN KÚ (ilu ikkal)* $= [BAT^{pl}]$.[3] "Der Gott frisst" (ein Ausdruck für die Pest) wird also hier dahin erklärt, dass es "Tote" gibt. *BAT = mâtu* ist bekanntlich sumerisch *uš* zu lesen (s. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 58).

Vs. 8 (=VAT 9718, I, 23=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 49; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 25): *BA-AN-ZA : pi-su-u*, *[BA-AN-ZA : ku-ru-u]*. VAT 9718 bietet: *BA-AN-ZA = pi-is-su-u ku-ru-u*. Zu *pissû* "hinkend" vgl.

[1] Die erste Tafel ist der besseren Uebersicht wegen nach der Rekonstruktion von Fossey, *Babyloniaca*, V, 2–27 zitiert. Daneben sind auch die entsprechenden Stellen bei Dennefeld, *Geburts-Omina*, S. 25–40 angegeben.

[2] Zwischen den Zeilen 1 und 3 nach Meeks Zählung fehlen mindestens zwei Zeilen. Ich bin aber, um keine Verwirrung zu stiften, bei Meeks Zählung geblieben.

[3] In VAT 9718, Vs. I, 22 mit Glosse: *mu-ú-tú*.

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Boissier, *Choix de textes*, II, p. 52; Dennefeld, S. 29; Meissner, *SAI*, 9818. *kurû* wahrscheinlich "kurz" (mit einem verkürzten Bein, vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 353; Meissner, *Suppl.*, 50; Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 113; Scheil, *Nouveaux Vocabulaires*, p. 9, Z. 65).

Vs. 9 (=VAT 9718, I, 24 f.=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 51; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 28): *a-ka-a-am*=[ ]. VAT 9718 bietet: [24]*a-ka-a-am*= [ ]-*šú-u*, [25]*a-ka-a-am*=[ ]-*šu*. Die Bedeutung von *akû* ist bekannt (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 52).

Vs. 10 f. (=VAT.9718, I, 26 f.=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 51; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 28): [10]*ul-ta-áš-ša-áš*=[*is-sal-la-a'*], [11]*is-sal-la-a'*=[*i-mar-ra-aṣ*]. *ultaššaš* bedeutet also "wird erkranken"; vgl. für *ašâšu* Delitzsch, *HW*, 151, für *salû*, *ibid.*, 500 und Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 760.

Vs. 12 (=VAT 9718, I, 28=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 53; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 27): *NIG-SÎG*=[*da-me-iḳ-tum*]. VAT 9718 hat zu *NIG-SÎG* die Glosse *ni-si-ig*.

Vs. 13–16 (=VAT 9718, I, 29–32=Fossey, p. 6, Z. 59; Dennefeld, S. 27, Z. 31): [13]*bîtu šiâtu* [*ina kabâti* (*BAT*) *uḫ-ta-aš-ši-iḫ*], [14][*ka*]-*ba-tu*[1]=[*ḫi-ṭu*], [15]*ka-b*[*a-t*]*u*[1]=[*mi-iḳ-tu*], [16]*ḫi-šiḫ-tum*=*ṣi-bu-tú*. Ist nun die Deutung des Omens zu übersetzen: "dieses Haus wird nach(?) Sünde heftiges Verlangen tragen"? Das ist mir sehr wenig wahrscheinlich. Ich möchte auch bezweifeln, ob die sonst nicht zu beanstandende Gleichung der Zeile 16 (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 294) wenigstens für den vorliegenden Fall in Frage kommt. Zu Z. 14 vgl. K 7626+7627, I, 9. II, 18 (Meek, p. 158) und zu Z. 15 Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, Sin XIX, 10, wo wir die interessante Erklärung finden: [*kab-tum ina*] *mâti ibašši*[ii] *aš-šu kab-tum la ti-du-ú BAT* (=) *kab-tum BAT* (=) *mi-iḳ-tum mi-iḳ-tum* (=) *be-en-nu*.

Vs. 17 (=VAT 9718, I, 33): *ŠE-ŠE*-[?=*i-tan-gu-rum*]. Das dritte Zeichen des Ideogramms ist auch in VAT 9718 nur teilweise erhalten und nicht zweifelsfrei zu ergänzen. Wozu diese Kommentarangabe gehört, ist auch nicht sicher; vielleicht zu Fossey, p. 8, Z. 60 oder 61, die beide am Schlusse verstümmelt vorliegen. *itangurum* ist Infinitiv I, 2 (mit Nasalierung des *g*) von *egêru* "kreuzen" (s. oben Nr. 16).

Vs. 18 (=VAT 9718, I, 34=Fossey, p. 8, Z. 64; Dennefeld, S. 35, Z. 30): *Á*-[*KAM*=*še-ḫa-nu*]. Wahrscheinlich liegt hier das

[1] VAT 9718: *tum*.

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gleiche akkadische Wort wie K 1913, Vs. 6 (s. oben Nr. 33) vor. Wir stellten oben fest, dass *šêḫânu* vielleicht ein mit Visionen Begabter ist, und das würde ja auch hier immerhin in den Zusammenhang passen. Zu *Á-KAM* bietet VAT 9718 die Glosse *a-tar*(?).

Vs. 19–21 (=VAT 9718, Vs. I, 35–37=Fossey, p. 8, Z. 65; Dennefeld, S. 35, Z. 30): [19]*sinništu šiâtu ina sûḳi ša* [*UB NU*[1] *TUG ir-ḫi-šú*] [20]*ša UB NU*[1] *T*[*UG=ša-ba-nu*] [21]*ša UB NU*[1] *T*[*UG=iz(s, ṣ)-li me-e*]. Die Deutung ist zu übersetzen: "diese Frau auf der Strasse: einer, der kein *UB* hat, wird sich auf sie legen." Wie *UB* hier zu fassen ist, ist mir nicht klar. Die ganze Phrase *ša UB NU TUG* wird erklärt als *ša-ba-nu* und *iz(s, ṣ)-li me-e*. Ist zu *iṣ-li* (wenn so zu lesen) eventuell *eṣêlu* "lähmen" (Delitzsch, *HW*, 121 und *SGl*, 3) zu vergleichen?

Vs. 22 (=VAT 9718, I, 38=Fossey, p. 8, Z. 70; Dennefeld, S. 36, Z. 5): *ú-su-mi-*[*a=ša 2 pa-nu-šu*] "mit zwei Gesichtern." Vgl. dazu die interessante Angabe in Br. M. 55466, Rs. IV, 12 (King, *Seven Tablets*, II, Pl. LXXI), dass *Ti-amat tu-ra-am-tum*, die sich im *mul* [d]*BAT* offenbart, zwei Gesichter habe, ein männliches und ein weibliches.

Vs. 23–25 (=VAT 9718, I, 39–41=Fossey, p. 8, Z. 71; Dennefeld, S. 36, Z. 6): [23]*dam-ga-mi-*[*nam=ṣi-iḫ-ḫu-tú*], [24]*dam-ga-mi-n*[*am=mar-la-lu*], [25]*dam-ga-mi-na*[*m=ša ênâ*[II]*-šu lu-um-mu-z*(*ṣ*)*a*]. Ich möchte glauben, dass es sich hier um einen "Triefäugigen" handelt. Vgl. zu *ṣiḫḫutu* Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 871.

Vs. 26 (=VAT 9718, I, 42=Fossey, p. 8, Z. 72; Dennefeld, S. 36, Z. 71): *mut-ta-tu*[2]=[*meš-lu*]. Die "Mitte" des Kopfes ist wohl die Stirn (vgl. Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 35 f.; Dennefeld, S. 31 f. zu verbessern.)

Vs. 27 (=VAT 9718, I, 43=Fossey, p. 8, Z. 73; Dennefeld, S. 36, Z. 8): *ḫu-um-bi*[3]*-bit-tu=p*[*i-zal-lu-ru ša ṣêri*]. Der Tiername *ḫumbibittu* (*ḫumbi*(*a*)*bitu*) findet sich auch Vokabular Jeremias, Rs. VI, 23 (*RA*, XI, 121, hier ebenfalls neben *pizalluru*). Ich möchte glauben, dass er mit dem *ḫabubîtu* der Inschrift des *Šamaš-rêš-uṣur* (Weissbach, *Babyl. Miscellen*, S. 11, Kol. IV, 13. V, 5) identisch ist. Dann handelt es sich, wie dort aus dem Kontext hervorgeht, um eine Bienenart. Auf Grund unserer Kommentarangabe möchte ich

[1] VAT 9718: *NAM*. [2] VAT 9718: *tum*. [3] VAT 9718: *ba*.

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annehmen, dass *pizalluru* (auch K 4605, 11 = Meek, p. 146; K 4546, Vs. 6 = Virolleaud, *Babyloniaca*, III, 275) der eigentliche Ausdruck für "Biene" ist, während *ḫumbibittu* eine "Biene des Feldes," also eine Hummel oder eine Wespe, bezeichnet.

Neben *ḫumbabitu* wird in den Geburtsomina ein *šikin ḫu-pi-pi* (*ḫu-wa-wa*) genannt (Fossey, p. 8, Z. 73 f.; Dennefeld, S. 36, Z. 8 f.). Ich habe in *OLZ*, 1914, Sp. 501 f. gezeigt, dass *Ḫu-wa-wa* als Personenname schon zur Zeit der dritten Dynastie von Ur vorkommt. Nun hat der neue von Clay und Jastrow veröffentlichte altbabylonische Gilgameštext gelehrt, dass Ḫumbaba, gegen den Gilgameš und Engidu ziehen, eigentlich Ḫuwawa heisst.[1] Wenn nun *ḫu-wa-wa* = Ḫumbaba ist, so dürfte unser *ḫumbabitu* nichts Anderes als eine Femininbildung von Ḫumbaba sein. Diese Feststellung kann zur Charakterisierung der Gestalt des Humbaba von Bedeutung werden.[2]

Vs. 28 (= VAT 9718, I, 44 = Fossey, p. 10, Z. 80; Dennefeld, S. 37, Z. 14): *ka-šu-šu* = *li*[*t-ku*] "mächtig." Vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 361, 386; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 452; Meissner, *Suppl.*, 51, ferner K 4195, VII, 15 (*CT*, XXVI, 43). *CT*, XXX, 9, Z. 11 wird *ka-šu-šu* als *na-as-pan*[ ] erklärt.

Vs. 29 (= VAT 9718, I, 45 = Fossey, p. 10, Z. 80; Dennefeld, S. 37, Z. 14): *KAR* = *ma*-[*ša-u'*]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 5721.

Vs. 30 f. (= VAT 9718, I, 46 = Fossey, p. 10, Z. 85; Dennefeld, S. 37, Z. 19): [30]*šarru a-a-bi-šu ḳât-s*[*u ikaššad*[d]] [31]*a*[3]*-a-bi* = *lim*-[*nu*].

Vs. 32 (= VAT 9718, I, 48 = Fossey, p. 10, Z. 86; Dennefeld, S. 37, Z. 20): *in*[4]*-nin-du-ma* = *mit-ḫu*-[*rum*]. Die beiden Neugeborenen "entsprechen sich" in ihrem Rückgrat. Das bedeutet wohl, dass sie an einem gemeinsamen Rückgrat zusammengewachsen sind.

Vs. 33 (= VAT 9718, I, 49 = Fossey, p. 10, Z. 89; Dennefeld, S. 37, Z. 22): *MAŠ-TAB-BA* = *ši*-[*na*].

Vs. 34 (= VAT 9718, I, 50 f. = Fossey, p. 10, Z. 92; Dennefeld, S. 37, Z. 25): [*m*]*âtu iṣaḫḫir*[ir] *ú*[3]*-la-lu-tam ušâlak*[ak] : *ú*[5]*-l*[*a-lu* =

[1] Vgl. bereits Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, p. 87. Auch in den Gilgameš-Fragmenten aus Boghazköi heisst Ḫumbaba *Ḫu-wa-wa-iš* (s. Hrozný, *KBo*, VI, Nr. 1, 13, 20, 21, 28, 30; Nr. 30, 22; Nr. 33, Rs. IV, 3. Lk. Rd.).

[2] Vgl. bereits Dennefeld, S. 39.

[3] Das erste *a* ist bei Meek wohl versehentlich ausgelassen.

[4] Bei Meek irrtümlich *LUGAL*.

[5] VAT 9718: *u*.

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*en-šu*]. "Das Land wird sich verkleinern, eine Schwächung wird es herbeiführen."

Vs. 35 f. (=VAT 9718, I, 52–54=Fossey, p. 12, Z. 96; Dennefeld, S. 38, Z. 29): [35][*ṭu-d*]*a-at mâti*(!)*-ja nakru* [*ezib*] [36][*ṭu-d*]*u* : *gir-rum TAG*(!)=*e-zi-bu*. Z. 35: "[die We]ge meines Landes [wird] der Feind [verlassen]." Zu *TAG*=*ezib* hat VAT 9718 die Glosse *e-zi-b*.[1] Z. 36: *ṭûdu*=*girru* ist bekannt (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 299; K 4195, Rs. VII, 17=*CT*, XXVI, 43). Zu *TAG*=*ezêbu* s. Brünnow, 1410; Meissner, *SAI*, 827; Delitzsch, *SGl*, 155.

An K 4171, Vs. 36 schliesst sich Sm 19, Vs.(!) I, 1 (Meek, p. 177) unmittelbar an. Dort ist die untere Hälfte von *TAG* und das akkadische Aequivalent *e-zi-b*[*u*(!)] erhalten. Leider sind auf VAT 9718, Vs. I die Zeilen 55–58 gänzlich und die Zeilen 59–60 bis auf geringe Reste fortgebrochen. Sie werden nun teilweise durch Sm 19 ergänzt.

Sm 19, Vs. I, 2 (=Fossey, p. 12, Z. 99; Dennefeld, S. 38, Z. 31): [*ŠUB* : *n*]*a-du-u ŠUB* : *ma-ḳa-t*[*u*].

Vs. I, 3. Für *kalmatu* s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 333.

Vs. I, 4 (=Fossey, p. 12, Z. 107; Dennefeld, S. 39, Z. 7): [*Ú*]-*GUG*=*su-un-ḳu*. Vgl. Brünnow, 6099; K 1913, Rs. I, 4 (Meek, p. 120).

Vs. I, 5–7 (=Fossey, p. 12, Z. 110; Dennefeld, S. 39, Z. 10): [5][*šumma sinništu . . . t*]*ûlid-ma bu-un-na-n*[*u-u-šu*]*-nu lâ ibši* [6][*bu-u*]*n-na-nu-u*=*ênâ*$^{II}$ *u ap-pi* [7][$^{i-q}$]$^{i}$*IGI*=*bu-nu*. *bunnanû* und *bûnu* bedeuten also den Komplex um Augen und Nase, mithin=Gesicht, Antlitz (so richtig bereits Jensen, *KB*, VI, 1, S. 486 und jetzt Delitzsch, *SGl*, 19 gegen Delitzsch, *HW*, 179 und Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 2).

Vs. I, 8 (=VAT 9718, I, 62): [*ba*(?)]-*ku-ú*=*da-la-ḫu*.

Vs. I, 9–11 (=VAT 9718, I, 63–65=Fossey, p. 14, Z. 112; Dennefeld, S. 39, Z. 12): [9][*šumma sinništu . . . tûl*]*id-ma i-daš-šu-nu I-ma* [10][*nakru mâti*(?)-*j*]*a*(?) *šu-uḫ-ḫu* [11][*mâtam*(?)] *šu-uḫ-ḫu*=*mâtam un-na-aš*. Zu Z. 11 vgl. IV R$^{2}$ 22, 20 a, wo *šaḫâḫu* II, 1 und *nâšu* II, 1 gleichfalls in Parallelismus stehen (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 649).

Vs. I, 12 (=VAT 9718, I, 67) scheint ebenfalls noch zu den vorhergehenden Zeilen zu gehören, doch bleiben hier Lesung und

[1] Für die defektive Schreibung, s. *MVAG*, 1916, S. 193, Anm. 1.

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Ergänzung unsicher. VAT 9718 schiebt vorher noch eine Zeile 66 ein, die vielleicht zu ergänzen ist: [*šu-uḫ-ḫu*] = *en-šu*.

Vs. I, 13 (= VAT 9718, I, 68 = Fossey, p. 14, Z. 113; Dennefeld, S. 39, Z. 13): [*pár-ši-i* = *še-lal*]-*t*[*i*]. Es handelt sich hier also um die Geburt von Drillingen.

*b*) K 11193

K 11193, 1 (= VAT 9718, Vs. II, 33 = Fossey, p. 36, Z. 87; Dennefeld, S. 63, Z. 71): [*ḫa-lu-*]*ú* = [*um-ṣa-tu ṣa-lim-tu*]. Vgl. bereits *LSSt*, VII, 1/2, S. 52.

Z. 2 (= VAT 9718, II, 34 = Fossey, p. 38, Z. 94; Dennefeld, S. 64, Z. 14): [*a-bu-s*]*a-tu*[1] = *šârat* [*SAK-KI*]. *SAK-KI*, das auch ins Akkadische als Lehnwort *šakkû* (Ebeling, *KAR*, I, 13, 10) übergegangen ist, ist, wie Ni. 4506, Rs. I, 21 f. (Langdon, *PBS*, XII, 1, Pl. X) lehrt, Ideogramm für *pûtu* "Stirn" und *nakkaptu* "Schläfe" (s. Meissner, *SAI*, 2365. 10490; Holma, *Körperteile*, S. 13–15 und *Weitere Beiträge zum assyrischen Lexikon*, S. 13–15). *abusatu* bedeutet also "Stirnhaar" oder "Schläfenhaar."[2] Das *bît abusâte* ist natürlich davon zu trennen.

Z. 3 f. (= VAT 9718, II, 35 f. = Fossey, p. 38, Z. 95; Dennefeld, S. 64, Z. 15): [3][*dup*]-*pi*[3] = *sis*-[*si*][4] [4][*sis*]-*si*[2] = *kib*-[*lu*]. VAT 9718 bietet zu *sis-su* die Glosse *si-is-su*. Die Bedeutung der drei Wörter ist mir unbekannt. Ist zu *duppu* eventuell *dup-pi šatti* bei Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, 2. Suppl. XXIII, 10, 20, 30 zu vergleichen?

Z. 5 f. (= VAT 9718, II, 37 f.): [5]*U* = *ši*-[ ] [6]*U* = *pil-š*[*ú*]. In beiden Zeilen gibt VAT 9718 zu *U* die Glosse *bu-u-ru*. Ebendort lautet in Z. 37 das akkadische Aequivalent *bu-lu*. Da es sich kaum um eine Nebenform zu *bûru* handeln dürfte, liegt wohl ein Versehen für *šup-lu* vor (vgl. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 70). Zu welcher Stelle von *šumma iz-bu* diese beiden Zeilen gehören, ist vorläufig nicht festzustellen.

Z. 7 f. (= VAT 9718, II, 39 f. = Fossey, p. 38, Z. 102; Dennefeld, S. 64, Z. 22): [7][*šumma sinništu tûlid-ma ul-l*]*a-nu-um-ma ka-li-iš* [8][*ki-il-š*]*u* = *ḫum-mu-ru*.[5] *ḫamâru* II, 1 bedeutet "blind sein" (s.

[1] VAT 9718: *tum*.

[2] Vgl. die interessante Angabe in dem altbabylonischen Ominatexte VAT 7525, Vs. I, 21 f.: *šumma awêlu šar-ti pu-di-šú ku-un-nu-na-at ši-in-ni-šú-tum i-ra-am-ma-šú* "Wenn das Haupthaar die Schultern eines Menschen bedeckt, so werden die Frauen ihn lieben."

[3] VAT 9718: *pu*.

[4] VAT 9718: *su*.

[5] VAT 9718: *rum*.

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Holma, *Personennamen der Form quttulu*, s.v.; Landsberger, *GGA*, 1915, S. 365). *kalâşu* dürfte also die gleiche Bedeutung haben.

Z. 9 (=VAT 9718, II, 41=Fossey, p. 40, Z. 113; Dennefeld, S. 65, Z. 32): [*bi-ir-tum*]=*šar-tum*. VAT 9718 hat zu *šar* die Glosse *ša-ar*. Vgl. Holma, *Körperteile*, *S.* 3, 34.

Z. 10 f. (=VAT 9718, II, 42 f.=Fossey, p. 40, Z. 116 ff.; Dennefeld, S. 65, Z. 34 ff.): $^{10}$[*BA-RA*]=*la-a* $^{11}$[*U*=*p*]*a-la-šú*. Zu Z. 10 vgl. Brünnow, 123=Virolleaud, *Astrol. Chald.*, Sin XXXI, 3; Meissner, *SAI*, 75; zu Z. 11, Brünnow 8726; Meissner, 6567. Dennefeld hat die in Betracht kommenden Zeilen schon durchaus richtig gefasst, nur ist bei ihm statt *ḫarrat* und *ḫarrâ* : *palšat* und *palšâ* zu lesen.

*c*) SM 19, VS. II

Das entsprechende Stück von VAT 9718 (Vs. II, 54–62) ist leider ebenfalls in der linken Spalte schlecht erhalten, sodass ich mich hier kurz fassen kann. Dazu kommt, dass der Teil der vierten Tafel von *šumma iz-bu*, zu dem diese Kommentarangaben gehören, bisher nicht bekannt ist.

Sm 19, Vs. II, 3 (=VAT 9718, Vs. II, 55): *ŠÂ(G)-S*[*E-SE-KI*=*şu-me-ra-tú*]. Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 6019, 11095.

Vs. II, 4 (=VAT 9718, II, 56): *šumma SAL . .* [. *tûlid-ma murşu i-ši-ir-ši*]. Dazu die erklärende Angabe:

Vs. II, 5 (=VAT 9718, II, 57 f.): *SI-DI*=[*i-še-rum ša a-la-ki*].

Vs. II, 6 (=VAT 9718, II, 59 f.): *GAR*=[*mimma, GAR*=*bu-šú-u*]. Vgl. Brünnow, 11957, 11966; Meissner, *SAI*, 9211. Gehört diese Kommentarangabe etwa zu Fossey, p. 42, Z. 134=Dennefeld, S. 67, Z. 7?

Vs. II, 7 f. (=VAT 9718, II, 61 f.): *ki-ta-a-a-ú-*[*lu*=*bi-ki-tú*], [*bi-k*]*i-*[*tú*=*gi-lit-tu*]. Vgl. V R 47, 33*a*.

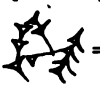
*d*) K 8209

Die Zeilen 1–4 gehören zum Schlussstück der Tafel X von *šumma iz-bu*. Da dieses sehr schlecht erhalten ist, lässt sich nicht feststellen, zu welchen Zeilen die einzelnen Angaben unseres Kommentars gehören.

K 8209, 2 (=VAT 9718, Rs. I, 19): [*a-ḫu-ú*] *kussâ i*[*şabbat*$^{bat}$] "ein Fremder wird den Thron besteigen." Dazu als Kommentar:

Z. 3 (=VAT 9718, I, 20 f.): [*BAR* :] *a-ḫu-ú, BAR* [: ]. Vgl. Brünnow, 1729; Meissner, *SAI*, 979.

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Z. 4 (=VAT 9718, I, 22): [] *BAR*$^{tu}$ *ZAL*[ ]. Die Zeile ist nicht ganz klar. Ist hier das Zeichen  = *bar-tu* "Aufstand" oder = *aḫûtu*$^{tu}$ "Feindseligkeit"? Letzteres ist im Hinblick auf die vorangehenden Zeilen wohl wahrscheinlicher. Dann dürfte in der rechten Spalte, wo VAT 9718 zu *ZAL* die Glosse *za-al* bietet, als zweites Aequivalent von  *ṣal-*[*tu*] zu ergänzen sein. Dass man die Zeile etwa als *saḫmaštu*$^{maš-tu}$ (s. Brünnow, 11211) = *ṣal-tu* auffassen sollte, dürfte wohl kaum angängig sein.

Z. 5 (=VAT 9718, I, 23). Die Anfangszeile der Tafel X lautet nach VAT 9718 in Uebereinstimmung mit Fossey, p. 80, Z. 15 = Dennefeld, S. 111, Z. 15: *šumma iz-bu ênu-šu I-ma ra-bi-a-at.*

Die Zeilen 7–15 behandeln die Tafel XI von *šumma iz-bu.*

Z. 7 (=VAT 9718, I, 24): *rigmu*$^{mu}$ = *bi-k*[*i-tu*]. VAT 9718 bietet zu *KA* die Glosse *ri-ig.* Trotzdem dürfte hier nicht phonetisch *rig-mu* zu lesen sein, denn *KA* hat sonst nirgends den Wert *rig.* Wohl aber ist *KA* als Ideogramm für *rigmu* häufig bezeugt (s. Brünnow, 541).

Z. 8 (=VAT 9718, Rs. I, 25): *BAR* = *pa-r*[*a-su*]. VAT 9718 hat zu *BAR* die Glosse *ba-ar.* Vgl. Brünnow, 1785; Meissner, *SAI*, 1049.

Z. 9 f. (=VAT 9718, I, 26 f. = Fossey, p. 102, Z. 38; Dennefeld, S. 117, Z. 15): [9]*rubû ana nakri-šu te-mi-ḳa-a-ti iraššî* [10]*te-mi-ḳa* = *ṣu-lu-*[*u*]. VAT 9718 hat die Varianten *te-me-ḳa-ti* (Z. 26) und *te-mi-ḳu* (Z. 27). Zu *têmiḳu* "Bitten, Flehen" s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 89; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 1171.

Z. 11 f. (=VAT 9718, I, 28–30 = Fossey, p. 102, Z. 44; Dennefeld, S. 117, Z. 21): [11]*ina eli ana mât nakri ḪA-A*[$^{meš}$] [12]*ḪA-A* : *na-bu-tûm*[1] *ḪA-A* : *ḫa-*[*la-ḳu*]. Die Zeile 11 ist zu fassen: "Was (die Phrase) 'nach dem Feindeslande *ḪA-A*[$^{meš}$]' betrifft, (so bedeutet) . . ." Zu Z. 12 s. K 1913, Rs. 2 (Meek, p. 120).

Der Anfang von Zeile 13 ist anscheinend zu ergänzen: [*mâ*]*r šarri ma-li-ku-ut abi-šu* . . . . VAT 9718 versagt seines schlechten

[1] VAT 9718, Rs. I, 29: *na-'-*[*bu-tu*].

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Erhaltungszustandes wegen für diese und die folgende Zeile. Z. 14 ist natürlich wiederherzustellen: [*m*]*a-li-ku* = *šar-*[*ru*].

*e*) SM 19, RS. II+K 4171, RS.

Sm 19, Rs. II und K 4171, Rs. 1–9 sind ein Kommentar zur Tafel XXII, K 4171, Rs. 10–23 zur Tafel XXIII und K 4171, Rs. 24–29 zur Tafel XXIV von *šumma iz-bu*. Das Duplikat VAT 9718 setzt, wie bereits oben bemerkt, erst mit K 4171, Rs. 10 wieder ein.

Die Tafel XXII ist leider wenig gut erhalten. Ich beschränke mich daher hier auf wenige Bemerkungen:

Sm 19, Rs. II, 4: *SUR* = *ta-ba-ku*. Vgl. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 270 und vielleicht Meissner, *SAI*, 1887.

Z. 5: [ ] = *rik-su šá ḳanî*. Vgl. II R 29, 61 *ab*.

Die Zeilen Sm 19, Rs. II, 8–10 und K 4171, Rs. 1–3 schliessen sich unmittelbar zusammen und ergänzen sich gegenseitig.

K 4171, Rs. 2. Zu *lašû* s. K 236, Rs. (Boissier, *DA*, p. 108; Hunger, *MVAG*, 1909, 3, S. 100) und K 3, Vs. 3 ff. (*CT*, XXX, 30).

Z. 4: *ḪAR* = *šú-a-tum*. S. Meissner, *SAI*, 6446. Die sumerische Aussprache von *ḪAR* in der Bedeutung *šuâtu* ist wahrscheinlich *ur* (s. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 285).

Z. 5: *RI* = *a-l*[*a-ku*?]. Vgl. Brünnow, 2556, Meissner, *SAI*, 1695 f.

Z. 7 (= Fossey, p. 180, Z. 3; Dennefeld, S. 170, Z. 3; vgl. Boissier, *Choix de textes*, I, p. 38, Z. 4 f. = Hunger, *MVAG*, 1909, 3, S. 87): *šumma šaḫêᵖˡ ina sûḳi ilassumûᵖˡ-ma* "wenn Schweine auf der Strasse umhergaloppieren." Die Erklärung ist nur noch in undeutlichen Spuren erhalten.

Z. 8 (= Fossey, p. 180, Z. 5; Dennefeld, S. 170, Z. 5; vgl. Boissier, *Choix de textes*, I, p. 38, Z. 4 = Hunger, *MVAG*, 1909, 3, S. 87): *ta-ru-ú* = *ša-ḳu-*[*u*]. Die Schwänze sind also "emporgestreckt," wie Hunger, *a.a.O.*, S. 87, Anm. 7 richtig vermutet.

Die Zeilen K 4171, Rs. 10–23 sind ein Kommentar zu Tafel XXIII, die ebenfalls nur in sehr verstümmeltem Zustande vorliegt.

Z. 11 (= VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 2): *sa-da-ru*[1] = *a-*[*la-ku*]. Vgl. Boissier, *Choix de textes*, II, 1, p. 31; Weidner, *Babyloniaca*, VI, p. 67.

Die Zeilen 12–13 werden durch VAT 9718 nicht weiter ergänzt.

[1] VAT 9718: *rum*.

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Z. 14 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 5): *uḫ-ḫa*[1]=[*pa-ru- . . . .*].

Z. 15 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 6): *iš-di-*[*ḫu=ni-me-lu*]. Vgl. Harper, *Letters*, IV, 353, Vs. 16.

Z. 16 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 7): *šumma kalbê*$^{pl}$ *e-m*[*a bâbê*$^{pl}$ *iṣ-ṣa-nun-du*] "wenn Hunde in der Nähe(?) der Tore hin und herlaufen." Ein ähnliches Omen K 236, Vs. 9 (Boissier, *Choix de textes*, I, 36; Hunger, *MVAG*, 1909, 3, S. 99). Dass dazu die Kommentarangabe in

Z. 17 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 8): *e-ma=šum-m*[*a*] (in VAT 9718 mit Glosse *šú-ma*) nicht ohne weiteres verständlich ist, hat bereits Hunger, *a.a.O.*, S. 99, Anm. 1 bemerkt.

Z. 18 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 9): *NI*[*GIN* : *ṣi-ta*?]-*nun-du NIGIN* : *la-mu-u*. Vgl. Brünnow, 10334, 10342 f.; Meissner, *SAI*, 7885, 7895; Delitzsch, *SGl*, 201, 204.

Z. 19 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 10): *I*[=*na-a-du*]. S. Brünnow, 3980; Delitzsch, *SGl*, 17.

Z. 20 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 10): *GIR*= ?. VAT 9718 hat zu *GIR* die Glosse *pi-ri-ig*. Zur Ergänzung des akkadischen Aequivalents s. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 74.

Z. 21 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 11): *MA*=*m*[*a-a-tú*]. Vgl. Brünnow, 6774; Meissner, *SAI*, 4835, 10917; Delitzsch, *SGl*, 179.

Z. 22 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 12): *BAT*=*mu*[*-u-tú*]. VAT 9718 hat zu *BAT* die Glosse *uš* (vgl. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 58).

Z. 23 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 13) enthält als Unterschrift die Anfangszeile der Tafel XXIII. Sie lautet nach VAT 9718 in Uebereinstimmung mit Fossey, p. 183, Z. 1=Dennefeld, S. 173, Z. 1: *šumma kalbatu I tâlid*.

Die Zeilen 24–29 sind ein Kommentar zu Tafel XXIV, der letzten Tafel des grossen Geburtsominawerkes. Da auch diese Tafel sehr schlecht erhalten ist, lassen sich hier ebenfalls keine weiteren Parallelen ziehen.

Z. 24 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 14 f.): *NUN i-ga-ši-ir ga-š*[*á-rum*=*dan-nu*]. Vgl. Delitzsch, *HW*, 206; Muss-Arnolt, *HWB*, 233 f.

Z. 25 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 16): *AD-GÍ-GÍ*=*ma-*[*li-ku*]. Vgl. Brünnow, 4185; Meissner, *SAI*, 2762; Delitzsch, *SGl*, 8.

Z. 26 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 17): *ŠE-GU-NU*=*z*(*ṣ*)*a-*[*ḫa-rum*]. Zu dieser Gleichung, die mir unklar ist, wüsste ich nichts weiter zu bemerken.

[1] VAT 9718: *ḫu*.

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Z. 27 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 18): *šumma ṣabîtu ana pân abulli ik-ri-[ba-am-ma . . . . . .]* "wenn eine Gazelle sich dem Stadttor näh[ert und . . . . .]." Vgl. Hunger, *MVAG*, 1909, 3, S. 85 f.

Z. 28 (=VAT 9718, Rs. IV, 19): *na-ša-ku=k[a-ra-ṣu]*. Beide Verba bedeuten "kneifen" (s. Delitzsch, *HW*, 486 (*našâku* I) und 597).

Damit endigt in K 4171 der Kommentar. Die Unterschriftszeile, die die erste Zeile der Tafel XXIV angab, ist auch in VAT 9718 so schlecht erhalten, dass sie vorläufig nicht wieder hergestellt werden kann. VAT 9718 schiebt (Rs. IV, 20) vorher noch eine Kommentarzeile ein, die aber bis auf wenige Reste unleserlich ist.

Möglicherweise gehört auch noch das Fragment K 9180 (Meek, p. 163) zu unserem Kommentar (vgl. besonders Z. 6 und 9). Da sich aber auf VAT 9718 kein entsprechendes Stück findet und auch die uns bekannten Teile der Serie *šumma iz-bu* keine Parallelen aufweisen, so muss die Frage vorläufig unentschieden bleiben.

## VI. MEDIZINISCHE TEXTE

### *36. Sm 22 (p. 179*

Sm 22 ist ein Duplikat zu Ebeling, KAR VI, Nr. 203.[1] Im einzelnen bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

Sm 22, Vs. 1–19=KAR VI, Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 18–36
Sm 22, Rs. 3 =KAR VI, Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 33
Sm 22, Rs. 4–12=KAR VI, Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 36–44

Die Varianten sind nicht sehr zahlreich. Zu bemerken ist:

Sm 22, Vs. 10 (=KAR VI, 203, Vs. IV–VI, 27): *GÁ* für *KISAL*.

Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 28 ist nach Sm 22, Vs. 11 zu *ᵘN[UMUN AD-G]AN* zu ergänzen (vgl. Z. 25).

Sm 22, Vs. 12 (=Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 29): *[ᵘN]U·LUḪ* für *ᵘNU-LUḪ-ḪA*.[2]

Sm 22, Vs. 13–14 (=Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 30 f.) beide Male *SUḪUŠ* für *KÁŠ*. Beide Zeichen wechseln mit der gemeinsamen Lesung *gigri* auch sonst (s. Delitzsch, *SGl*, 89). Wahrscheinlich ist doch wohl *išdu* mit der Bedeutung "Wurzel" zu lesen.

[1] Ein weiteres teilweises Duplikat ist von Scheil, *RA*, XIII (1916), 1, pp. 35–42 veröffentlicht worden.

[2] Vgl. Meissner, *SAI*, 1168.

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Sm 22, Vs. 13 (=Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 30): $^{iti}$*šú-ši* für *NI-NE*. Ich möchte glauben, dass *šú-ši* die phonetische Schreibung des Ideogramms *NI-NE* darstellt. Ein Baum *šûšu* ist wohlbekannt.[1]

Sm 22, Vs. 15 (=Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 32) liest phonetisch *ṣar-ba-ti* für $^{gi\check{s}}$*A-TU-GAB-LIŠ* (vgl. Brünnow, 11415; Meissner, *SAI*, 8759, *MVAG*, 1913, 2, S. 26, Z. 62 und S. 61–63).

Sm 22, Vs. 16 (=Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 33) $^{u}$*AN-ŠUM-DÂḪ* für $^{u}$*AN-DÂḪ-ŠUM*.

Sm 22, Vs. 18 (=Nr. 203, Vs. IV–VI, 35): *K(gu)A UR-*[*KU*] für richtiges *EME* [*UR-KU*].

Die Zeile 3 der Rückseite von Sm 22 entspricht der Zeile 33 von Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI. Die einzige Variante ist $^{u}$*AḪ* für $^{u}$*AḪ-MEŠ*. Die beiden vorhergehenden Zeilen finden sich in Nr. 203 nicht. Es ist möglich, dass Z. 2 mit Z. 22 oder 23 identisch ist.

Nach Z. 33 bietet Nr. 203 noch zwei weitere Zeilen, die in Sm 22 ausgelassen sind. Von Z. 36 ab haben wir dann wieder einen im wesentlichen übereinstimmenden Paralleltext.

Im allgemeinen ist zu den Zeilen 4–7 zu bemerken: die Pflanzen, die hier in Z. 5 f. genannt werden, stehen in Nr. 203 um je eine Zeile höher (Rs. IV–VI, 36 f.). Aus dem Wiederholungszeichen in Z. 6 ergibt sich, dass beide Male [$^{u}$*DU ŠIR-B*]*UR*$^{bu}$ [2] zu lesen ist (danach Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 37 zu verbessern). In Z. 4 wird ein Pflanzenname [ ]-*BAL-GI* aufgeführt, der in Nr. 203 keine Analogie hat. Der in Nr. 203, Z. 38 genannte Pflanzenname fehlt in Sm 22 ganz.

Sm 22, Rs. 4. Das anscheinende *sag*, das Meek hier gelesen hat, ist gewiss nach Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 36 in *ni-giš* zu verbessern.

Sm 22, Rs. 7 fehlt anscheinend das *sar* nach dem zweiten Pflanzennamen. Weiterhin ist zu lesen: *šá libbu-šu GI*[*G lâ KÚ*] (danach Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 39 zu verbessern).

Sm 22, Rs. 10 bietet die sehr erfreuliche phonetische Schreibung *na-an-du-ur nêšê*$^{pl}$ für *ŠUB*(?)*UR-KU UR-MAḪ UR-BAR-RA* (Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 42).

Sm 22, Rs. 11 bietet *riḫiṣ*$^{iti}$ $^{d}$*Adad* für *riḫiṣ* $^{d}$*Adad* (Nr. 203, Rs. IV–VI, 43).

[1] S. Meissner, *MVAG*, 1913, 2, S. 16, Z. 55; S. 28, Z. 22 ff., dazu S. 34.

[2] Vgl. für den Vogelnamen Meissner, *SAI*, 939 ff.

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## VII. RELIGIÖSE TEXTE

### *37. K 2725+2726 (pp. 125 f.)*

Die Vorderseite dieses Textes ist ein Duplikat zu K 246 (Haupt, *ASKT*, S. 82–99). Im einzelnen entsprechen sich:

K 2725+2726, Vs. I, 1–11 = K 246, Vs. I, 1–10
K 2725+2726, Vs. II, 1–6 = K 246, Vs. II, 22–27
K 2725+2726, Vs. III, 1–19 = K 246, Rs. III, 47–67

Die akkadische Version des ersten Abschnittes der Vorderseite von K 246 (Haupt, *ASKT*, S. 83) wird durch K 2725+2726 in erfreulicher Weise ergänzt. Sie hat dann folgenden Wortlaut (nach der Zeilenzählung von K 2725+2726):

1. *ilu lim-nu ú-tuk*[1] *lim-nu*
2. *ú-tuk ṣi-e-ri ú-tuk šadî*[i]
3. *ú-tuk tam-tim ú-tuk ḳab-rim*
4. *še-e-du lim-nu a-lu-u me-lam-mu*
5. *im-ḫul-lu la a-di-ru*
6. *ša-rat zu-um-ri šu-zu-uz-zu-u*
7. *ú-tuk-ku lim-nu*
8. *niš šamê*[e] *lu-u ta-mat niš irṣitim*[tim] "[2]

Die zweite Kolumne der Vorderseite von K 2725+2726 gestattet die Feststellung, dass auf K 264, Vs. II, 25 und 26 (Haupt, *ASKT*, S. 88) die zweifelhaften Zeichen tatsächlich *da* und *ki* zu lesen sind. In Z. 25 fehlt zwischen *da* und *ḫar-ra* nichts.

Die dritte Kolumne der Vorderseite von K 2725+2726 bietet in der sumerischen Spalte keine Variante zu K 246, Rs. III, 47–67. Die Bedeutung der Zeichen, die am Anfang der Spalte in kleinerer Schrift stehen, ist mir unklar. In der akkadischen Spalte sind einige unwichtigere Varianten, die sich hauptsächlich auf die Schreibung der Wörter beziehen, zu verzeichnen. Wichtig ist dagegen die Tatsache, dass nach K 2725+2726, Vs. III, 1 der Schluss der Zeile K 246, Rs. III, 21 (Haupt, *ASKT*, S. 93) zu *la tir-ru-ub-šu* ergänzt werden muss.

Zu der Rückseite von K 2725+2726 habe ich unter den veröffentlichten Texten kein Duplikat ausfindig machen können.

[1] K 246: *ú-tuk-ku.*
[2] K 246: *irṣiti*[ti] *lu-u ta-mat.*

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*38. 82, 3–23, 146 (p. 189)*

Das Fragment ist ein Duplikat zu dem Weltschöpfungstext Ebeling, KAR I, Nr. 4 (vgl. Ebeling, *ZMDG*, LXX, S. 532–38; Landersdorfer, *Die sumer. Parallelen zur bibl. Urgeschichte*, S. 62–76 und Tafel I f.; Langdon, *Le Poème sumérien*, pp. 40–57). Das bereits bekannte Duplikat aus Ašurbânipals Bibliothek: K 4175+ Sm 57 (Bezold, *PSBA*, X, 1888, Pls. I–II) gehört wahrscheinlich der gleichen Tafel an.

Im einzelnen ergeben sich die folgenden Gleichungen:

82, 3–23, 146, Vs. II, 1–13 = Ebeling, KAR I, 4, Vs. 28–34

82, 3–23, 146, Rs. I, 1–6 = Ebeling, KAR I, 4, Rs. 10–13

Die Reste der ersten Kolumne der Vorderseite enthalten ein Stück vom Anfang des Textes, doch ist eine genaue Identifizierung mit KAR I, 4 mir nicht möglich. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um eine etwas abweichende Rezension. In Kolumne IV der Rückseite sind noch Reste einer Unterschrift erhalten.

Folgende Varianten sind zu notieren:

82, 3–23, 146, Vs. II, 1 *bi-bi-ni* für anscheinendes *tab-ni kas-ni* in KAR I, 4, Vs. 28 f. Der Assurtext ist wahrscheinlich entsprechend zu verbessern.

*Ibid.*, II, 2 *ki-n*[*e*(!?)] für wohl richtiges *gi-ne* in KAR I, 4, Vs. 29.

*Ibid.*, II, 3 f.: *ana* für *a-na* in KAR I, 4, Vs. 28 f.

*Ibid.*, II, 5: *ni-ur-ba* für wohl richtiges *ni-ib-ba* in KAR I, 4, Vs. 30.

*Ibid.*, Rs. I, 6 doch wohl mit KAR I, 4, Rs. 13 *dug*(!)-*g*[*a*] zu lesen.

## VIII. GÖTTERLISTEN

*39. K 8220 (p. 159)*

K 8220 ist ein Duplikat zu K 2098, Z. 19–29 (*CT*, XXV, 29). Es enthält Namen des Gottes Nergal und gehört dem Schluss der sechsten Tafel von *AN* = *dAnum* an (s. Zimmern, *BSGW*, 1911, 4, S. 23 f.). K 8220 und K 2098 ergänzen sich gegenseitig in der erfreulichsten Weise. Ich lasse eine Umschrift nach der Zeilenzählung von K 8220 folgen. Die rechte Spalte ist in beiden Texten vollständig abgebrochen:

1. *dLugal-GAR*$^{zu\text{-}ḫu\text{-}úr}$
2. *dLugal-imina-gi*

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3. *Nin*[1]*-uru-bar-ra*[2]
4. [d]*Ḫul-nu-zu*
5. [d]*Lugal*[3]*-ni-gišimmar*
6. [d]*En-pi-*[bi-bi]*pi*[4]
7. [d]*Îr* [ir]*-ra*[5]
8. [d]*Gìr* : [ir]*-ra*[6]
9. [d]*En-*[ki-bi-ir]*kibir*[7]
10. [[d] . . . . .]*-lul-ḫuš*
11. [[d] . . . .] . . . *-ga*

Sehr wichtig ist die Glosse in Z. 1. Man wird danach das Zeichen *GAR* unbedenklich *zuḳur* lesen dürfen. Ein solcher Wert des Zeichens war bisher noch gänzlich unbekannt.

*40. K 8267 (p. 159), K 13588 (p. 171)*

Diese beiden Fragmente sind Duplikate zu der grossen dreispaltigen Götterliste K 171 (=II R 59), die bekanntlich durch Bu. 91, 5–9, 159 (*CT*, XXV, 45)[8] wesentlich ergänzt wird. Die Liste und ihr Duplikat hat Zimmern, *BSGW*, 1911, 4, S. 88–106 ausführlich besprochen, und ich habe auch für das Folgende diese Arbeit Zimmerns zu Grunde gelegt.

K 8267 ist Duplikat zu K 171, Vs. 2–10. Die Ergänzung lautet folgendermassen, wenn wir die Zeilenzählung von K 171 zu Grunde legen:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2. | [d*Umun-ki* | d*En*]*-k*[*i* | d*Ê-a*] |
| 3. | [d*Gašan-ki* | d*Nin*]*-k*[*i* | d*Dam-ki-na*] |
| 4. | [d*Mu-ul-lil* | d*E*]*n-li*[*l* | d*Enlil*] |
| 5. | [d*E-lum* | d]*Ali*[*m* | d*Enlil*] |
| 6. | [d*Gašan-lil* | d*N*]*in-*[Ni-in-lil]*-li*[*l* | *DAM-šu SAL*] |
| 7. | [d*Umun-LU-a* | d]*Nin-ur*[*ta* | d*MAŠ*] |
| 8. | [d*Umun-KAL-a* | d*N*]*in-ur*[*ta* | d*MAŠ*] |
| 9. | [d*Gašan-Nibri*[ki] | d*N*]*in-Nibri*[k][i] | *DAM-šu SAL*] |
| 10. | [d*Gašan-ud-zal-li* | d*Nin-ud-*]*zal-l*[*i* | *DAM* d*Nin-urta-gé*] |

[1] K 2098 mit Glosse *e*.
[2] K 2098 schiebt hier noch eine Zeile ein. [3] K 2098: *Ḫul*
[4] K 2098 Glosse: *en-bi-bi*. Der Text schiebt hiernach eine weitere Zeile ein.
[5] Zeichen *ARAD*. K 2098 hat dafür das Zeichen *GÎR* (*šêpu*), ebenfalls mit der Glosse *ir*.
[6] Zeichen *ARAD*. K 2098 *GÎR* ohne Glosse. [7] Hier bricht K 2098 ab.
[8] Vgl. Radau, *BEUP*, Ser. D, V, 2, p. 70; Zimmern, *BSGW*, 1911, 4, S. 89.

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Es handelt sich hierbei um ein Stück aus dem Anfang der ersten Tafel der Serie *AN = dAnum* (Anu- und Enlilgruppe, vgl. Zimmern, *BSGW*, 1911, 4, S. 88 f., 107 f.).

K 13588 ist Duplikat zu K 177, Vs. 30–37, und Bu. 91, 5–9, 153 (*CT*, XXV, 43). Der ergänzte Text hat folgenden Wortlaut:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 30. [*dNu-nunuz-ki-a* | *dSal-ki-a*] | *KI-MIN* |
| 31. [*dGašan-sar* | *dNin-s*]*ar* | *šú* |
| 32. [*dGašan-ka-si* | *dNin-ka-*]*si* | *šú* |
| 33. [*dGašan-ma-da*[1] | *dNin-ma-*]*da*[1] | *muš-láḫ-*[*e-ne An-na-gé*] |
| 35. [*dGašan-amaš-kù-ga* | *d*[*Nin-amaš*]-[lu-?] *kù-ga* | *sib uza*(!) *sì*[*g-ga dEn-lil-la-gé*] |
| 36. [*ddìm-me-ir-Maḫ* | *dMa*]*ḫ* : *dGašan-maḫ* | *dNin-ma*[*ḫ dBêlit ilêᵖˡ*] |
| 36*b*. [*dGašan-ḫar-sag-gá* | *dNin-ḫar-s*]*ag-gá* | *KI-MIN* |
| 37. [*dGašan-tu* | *dNin-*]*tu* | *KI-MIN* |

Dieses Textstück gehört zum Schluss der ersten Tafel (Z. 30–34 = Enlilgruppe) und zum Anfang der zweiten Tafel (Z. 36–37 = Bêlit ilê-Gruppe) von *AN = dAnum*. Vgl. im übrigen die eingehenden Bemerkungen von Zimmern, *BSGW*, 1911, 4, S. 95 f. und 109 f.

Wahrscheinlich gehören unsere beiden Fragmente der gleichen Tafel an. Besonders hinweisen möchte ich noch auf die wichtigen Glossen, die sie enthalten.

*41. Rm 930 (p. 183), Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61 (pp. 194 f.*

Diese beiden Fragmente, die wahrscheinlich der gleichen Tafel angehören, sind Duplikate zu K 2597+K2944+K12832+DT 355 (*CT*, XXV, 1 ff.). Sie gehören mithin der fünften Tafel von *AN = dAnum* an (s. Zimmern, *BSGW*, 1911, 4, S. 119 ff.). Im einzelnen bestehen die folgenden Gleichungen:

Rm. 930, 1–9 = K 2597, Vs. II, 9–19

Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61, Rs. = K 2597, Rs. III, 27–49

Das der Vorderseite von Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61 entsprechende Stück von K 2597 ist nicht erhalten.

[1] K 177 und Bu. 91, 5–9, 153: *dim*; d. h. *dNin-ma-dim = dNin-ma-da*, vgl. *CT*, XXIV, 11, 33; 24, 50.

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Rm 930 und K 2597 ergänzen sich gegenseitig. Auf Rm 930 sind die Namen der beiden letzten "Standortgötter" von *E-ninnû* und der sieben *gud-dúb* des Ningirsu teilweise erhalten. Der Text ist zu lesen:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. [$^{d}$ . . . . . .] . *un* . [. . . . . .] | *šú* |
| 2. [$^{d}$ . .] . . . *ḫuš-a-ni-kúr-ra-nu-ìl-la* | *šú 5 AN-GÚB-BA Ê-ninnû-gé* |
| 3. [$^{d}$ . . . *u]šum-ur-sag-kúr-ra-lu-lu-bi* | *šú* |
| 4. [$^{d}$ . . . *g]ab*[1]*-ḫuš-gú-zub*[2]*-zu-ab* | *šú* |
| 5. [$^{d}$ . . . *ušum*[3]*-bar*[4]*-g]ešpu*[5]*-ê-ninnû* | *šú* |
| 6. [$^{d}$ . . . *ra-ḫuš-a-ni-nu-kúš-šà* | *šú* |
| 7. [$^{d}$ . . . *ga-lugal-a-ni-šà(g)-ḫun-gá* | *šú* |
| 8. [$^{d}$ . . . . - *z]i* | [*šú*] |
| 9. [$^{d}$ . . . . . - *ni- z]i* | [*šú 7 gud-dúb* $^{d}$*Nin-gir-su-gé*] |

Die Rückseite von Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61 und K 2597, Rs. II, 27–49, ergänzen sich am Anfang gegenseitig. Dann gewinnen allerdings die Zeilen 32–49 des letztgenannten Textes, die nur sehr unvollständig erhalten sind, durch Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61, nur wenige weitere Zeichen. Die Götternamen der Zeilen 36–49 = 9–22 bleiben auch weiterhin bis auf wenige Reste (Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61, Rs. 17–20) unbekannt.

*Verzeichnis der besprochenen Texte*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| K 945 | = Nr. 25 | K 8267 | = Nr. 40 |
| K 1913 | = Nr. 33 | K 9180 | = Nr. 35 |
| K 2044 | = Nr. 1 | K 9887 | = Nr. 8 |
| K 2725 | = Nr. 37 | K 9935 | = Nr. 17 |
| K 2740 | = Nr. 29 | K 9939 | = Nr. 27 |
| K 2902 | = Nr. 30 | K 11193 | = Nr. 35 |
| K 2907 | = Nr. 31 | K 11890 | = Nr. 9 |
| K 2918 | = Nr. 34 | K 12848 | = Nr. 21 |
| K 4161 | = Nr. 16 | K 13588 | = Nr. 40 |
| K 4171 | = Nr. 35 | K 13619 | = Nr. 19 |
| K 4242 | = Nr. 2 | K 14423 | = Nr. 22 |

[1] K 2597 mit Glosse *ga*.
[2] Mit Glosse: *zu-bi*.
[3] K 2597 mit Glosse: *ú-šum*.
[4] K 2597 mit Glosse: *ba-ra*.
[5] Mit Glosse: *gi-eš-pu*.

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| K 4428 | = Nr. 18 | K 14908 | = Nr. 10 |
| K 4596 | = Nr. 3 | K 15153 | = Nr. 18 |
| K 4599 | = Nr. 20 | Sm 19 | = Nr. 35 |
| K 5433*a* | = Nr. 4 | Sm 22 | = Nr. 36 |
| K 5926 | = Nr. 5 | Sm 305 | = Nr. 23 |
| K 7300 | = Nr. 27 | Sm 1544 | = Nr. 18 |
| K 7696 | = Nr. 6 | Sm 1701 | = Nr. 24 |
| K 7766 | = Nr. 7 | DT 103 | = Nr. 1 |
| K 8209 | = Nr. 35 | Rm 361 | = Nr. 27 |
| K 8220 | = Nr. 39 | Rm 930 | = Nr. 41 |

Rm II, 38 = Nr. 32
79, 7–8, 170 = Nr. 19
81, 2–4, 447 = Nr. 11
82, 3–23, 28 = Nr. 25
82, 3–23, 146 = Nr. 38
82, 3–23, 149 = Nr. 12
82, 3–23, 151 = Nr. 13
83, 1–18, 462 = Nr. 25
Ki. 1902, 5–10, 4 = Nr. 27
Ki. 1904, 10–9, 61 = Nr. 41
Ki. 1904, 10–9, 83 = Nr. 26
Th. 1905, 4– 9, 1 = Nr. 28
Th. 1905, 4– 9, 1 = Nr. 14
Th. 1905, 4– 9, 26 = Nr. 15

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# THE ORIGIN AND REAL NAME OF NIMROD

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The figure of the biblical Nimrod has ever attracted the attention of Assyriologists and numerous have been the attempts to explain the origin and name of this builder of Babel. A number of years ago the writer became convinced that the name could not be separated from the city of Marad and that it was an epithet of LUGAL-MARAD-DA, a god worshiped at that place. The city of Marad was a center of great importance in early times; thus in the days of the kings of Ur the *patesi* of Marad follows in rank the *patesis* of Lagash, Um-ma, and Babylon.[1] Its *zikkurrat* or tower is mentioned II *R*, 50, col. 7, 17 (*E-GAR-GÂ-UL-UL*). The son of the great Naram-Sin was *ishakku* or governor of Marad—a fact implying that it was a very prominent post—and founded there the temple of the god LUGAL-MARAD-DA. Several thousand years later Nebuchadrezzar piously restored this edifice, and both the foundation and the restoration inscriptions of this "Nimrod" temple, as I would like to call it, have recently come to light.[2]

LUGAL-MARAD-DA simply means "king (*lugal*) of Marad." The title "king," however, can be circumscribed by EN="lord" (or NIN which in the older period also can mean "lord" and is basically the same word). The king of Marad could therefore be called EN-MARAD or NIN-MARAD, "lord of Marad." Professor Prince cited my view that EN-MARAD is the biblical Nimrod in *JAOS*, XL (1920), 201 f. A recent discovery enables us to furnish definite proof that this is the case. It had long been known that a god LUGAL-BAN-DA was prominently worshiped at Marad. He was the patron deity of Gilgamesh to whom appeal is made by the hero in the epic. Poebel's dynastic tablet from Nippur taught us that LUGAL-BAN-DA was really an old, semimythical king, the third ruler of the first kingdom of Erech. And now the newly

[1] Cf. Hommel, *Geographie und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, I (1907), 307.

[2] Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions* (1915), Nos. 10 and 34.



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published "God list for school use" proves that BAN, the second element in this name, must be read phonetically as *-marad-*, so that LUGAL-BAN-DA = *Lugal-marad-da*.[1] To cap the climax, we find in II *R*, 57:23*cd* the god EN-BAN-DA, who must now be read *En-marad-da*, and this supplies us with the exact by-form of *Lugal-marad-da* that we had postulated. The alternate form *Nin-marad* may have also been current, but it does not happen to occur in the inscriptions.[2] Philologically this explanation of the name certainly seems acceptable.

But can we show that historically or mythologically any affinity exists between Nimrod and the "lord of Marad"?

In the dynasty tablet from Nippur, already cited, the following names open the list of the kings of *E-an-na* (i.e., Erech):[3]

| | YEARS |
|---|---|
| 1. *Meš-ki-in-ga-še-ir*, son of Šamaš, high priest and king | 325 |
| 2. *En-me-ir-kár*, son of the former | 420 |
| 3. *Lugal-marad-da*, the shepherd | 1200 |
| 4. *Dumu-zi*,[4] the hunter from the city of KHA-A | 100 |
| 5. *GIŠ-BIL-GA-MEŠ*,[5] son of the goddess *Nin-sun* and the high priest of the city of *Kullab* | 126 |

The mythically long reigns of these rulers at once remind one of the biblical antediluvians; and above all, *Lugal-marad-da* is given the supreme reputation for longevity—which in terms of our language means that he is the greatest of them all. Now Albright has shown that *En-me-ir-kár*, predecessor of *Lugal-marad-da*, is identical with *Euēchoros*,[6] the grandfather of Gilgamos in the legend recorded by Aelian, and that this legend originally referred to the birth of *Lugal-marad-da*. He was born in secret by the daughter of *En-me-ir-kár*,

[1] Schroeder, *MVAG*, XXI, 180 f.

[2] Albright, *JAOS*, XL, 335, postscript, says, "Kraeling's suggestion *En-marad* quoted by Prince, is nearly correct." He himself prefers Nin-marad (p. 314)—a form which naturally also occurred to me—and arrived at his conclusion without knowing of my views. On account of the occurrence of *En-marad-da*, however, I choose to abide by my original suggestion. The transition of *ā* to *ō* in Nimrōd is well explained by Albright's comparison of Babylonian *Dagān* with West Semitic *Dagōn*.

[3] Cf. Poebel, *Historical Texts* (1914), pp. 88 f.; cf. p. 74.

[4] As Tammuz-Adonis this ancient king of Erech received the worship of the Orientals for thousands of years. He is called "the hunter," but is more a tragic than a heroic figure in legend; cf. the material in Jeremias, *Altorientalische Geisteskultur* (1913), pp. 263 ff.

[5] Otherwise written *Gilgamesh*, the famous hero of the epic.

[6] The name has been handed down as *Seuēchoros*, but the initial *S* is merely dittography of the last letter of the preceding word; cf. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

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doubtless was in some way raised by a shepherd, and later came to the throne.[1] This accounts for the fact that he is called "the shepherd." His pastoral character must not mislead us to picture him as a flute-playing Anacreonite; the example of David shows that the wild, free life of the ancient shepherd was the best school for a warrior. The allusion "Shepherd" merely is to remind of the legend; just so Sargon might be called the "gardener," in remembrance of the legend about his youth.

*Lugal-marad-da* = "lord of Marad" is of course not a genuine personal name, but a title, and the fact that this title has caused the real name of its bearer to pass into oblivion shows that it was famous and much used. Like the "old man of the mountains," the lord of Marad was known far and wide. Originally a real hero of flesh and blood, he became a god as early as the days of Naram-Sin, the memory of his greatness being idolized by his people at Marad later in less glorious times. The rôle that he played as god clearly indicates that he was first of all a warrior, for he is regarded as a manifestation of the Babylonian war-god Urta (NIN-IB).[2] The passage already cited, II *R*, 57:23*cd*, explains *En-marad-da* as *Urta ṣabit purussū ilī* ("who proclaims the decisions of the gods"), and elsewhere we have the group $^{d}$*lugal-marad-da* $^{d}$*Mash*, thus identifying *Mash* (= Urta) with the lord of Marad. This fits very well the biblical statement about Nimrod that he began to be a hero (*gibbōr*) upon earth (Gen. 10:8).

The militant hero of ancient times was usually a hunter; the chase of the lion or of the wild ox or of the boar was the next best excitement to war, and we therefore find the Assyrian kings deeply interested in the chase. Hundreds of representations on Babylonian seals show a heroic figure grappling with or slaughtering a lion. It has been customary to regard this figure as Gilgamesh; some scholars have observed, however, that the so-called Gilgamesh scenes on the seals do not illustrate the epic at all in the form in which it has been handed down to us.[3] The lion-killing is certainly very incidental and even problematic in the epic (col. ii, 1). I would like to suggest

[1] The legend that has been immortalized by Sophocles in his Oedipus tragedy shows similar *motifs* and may have been influenced by oriental stories.

[2] So expressly in Schroeder's god list, *op. cit.*, text, ll. 2, 15, 17.

[3] Cf. O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* (1920), I, 14 ff.

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that these scenes really refer to our king of Marad. Since Gilgamesh worships him as patron deity, he must have been a greater hero than Gilgamesh. Only through such seal representations can the fame of Nimrod as a great hunter have become current among the Hebrews.

From this point of view we may be able to determine the original meaning of the proverb which already at an early date caused the interpolation of verse 9 into the text of Genesis, chapter 10. An inveterate and successful hunter in Israel is said to be "like Nimrod, a mighty hunter *before the face of Yahweh.*" Remembering the fact that the Assyrian Heracles was often portrayed as a giant,[1] we may conclude that this expression originally is meant very literally as "measuring up to divine size," therefore superhuman, extraordinary. (It must be recalled that the monuments always portray the gods as much bigger than their human adorants.) Wherever the words "before the face of Yahweh" occur in a like connection the meaning "extraordinary" fits excellently (Jonah 3:3, an extraordinarily large city; Gen. 6:11, extraordinarily wicked). The Old Testament remembers that Nimrod was not one of the primeval gods, but rather a mortal who reached the divine estate; this presupposes that the legends about the king of Marad were well known.

It has seemed peculiar to many that J makes Nimrod a Cushite. But let us not forget that J's home was in Judea and that the southern Judeans had much contact with South Arabia. The caravan road from South Arabia to the Mediterranean Sea led to Gaza, and the treasures of the East were shipped from thence to other lands. It is not accidental that J knows about the gold of the land of Havila as well as its bdellium and onyx stones. The name Cush in the Old Testament often includes Arabia as well as Ethiopia and the region of Chaldea can without difficulty be described as belonging to Cush. The cultural rather than the physiographical standpoint was the leading one for J; and it is quite clear that Chaldea, not only in late days, but also in the earliest times, was in close touch with central and southern Arabia. New groups of Arabian tribes were constantly filtering into that region—the region of the city of Marad —and maintaining intercourse with their relatives farther west.

[1] Cf. the illustration in Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (1916), p. 159.

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What is more natural than that the news of the mighty king of Marad, the patron for every bandit and herdsman, should have passed into Arabia and through Arabia to southern Palestine? Proudly the Arab would boast of him as "one of our own—a Cushite." And so the Hebrew huntsman on the Edomite frontier, the man of the Esau type who was only found in the south, since in the north lived the more effeminate husbandman of Jacob's kind, heard and passed on the story of that hunter of hunters of long ago.[1] If the news had come by way of northern Syria, Nimrod would never have been made a "Cushite." As it is, the connection with Arabia is plain.[2]

It seems surprising at the first glance that the Old Testament claims to have knowledge of Nimrod's kingdom, for two millennia lie between the days of the king of Marad and the biblical narrator. Under those circumstances it would be idle to expect historical accuracy and to require of us to show that En-marad-da had done all the things attributed to Nimrod. We must rather expect to find that the mythical Nimrod has attracted to himself much that is not of his own accomplishment.

We can safely assert that "Nimrod the city-builder" has stolen Hammurabi's laurels. If we are told that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, Akkad, and Calneh[3] in the land of Shinar, we plainly have the rise of Babylon under Hammurabi presupposed, for only through this king's activity did the city of Marduk come into the foreground. Very naturally he must have subjected Erech, Akkad, and Nippur in the course of his empire-building, but the fact that neither Larsa nor Nisin are mentioned shows that there is no conscious attempt to describe Hammurabi's history. J merely mentions a few of the famous Babylonian cities that happen to occur to him.

[1] The stories of the lion-killing of Samson (Judges 14:6) and David (I Sam. 17:35) may have been influenced or inspired by the representations on the Babylonian seals that were passed about in Palestine.

[2] The suggestion that Cush is really the Babylonian city of Kish (Van Gelderen, *The Expositor* [1914], pp. 276 f.; recently also Burkitt, *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, 1920) is neither necessary nor convincing.

[3] No explanation of Calneh has yet been offered that is preferable to Hilprecht's and Hommel's *Nippur* (*Ki-illina*, spoken for *Ki-enlil*, "the city of the god Enlil"); cf. Landersdorfer, *Sumerisches im Alten Testament* (1916), p. 28. The emendation to *Kullaba* (Jensen) is unlikely because this was merely a suburb of Erech.

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When we are told that Nimrod went forth from Shinar to Ashur (Gen. 10:11), we dare not expect to have before us any direct knowledge of an ancient conquest of Assyria by Hammurabi or Lugal-marad-da. The figure of Nimrod has here assumed an idealistic nature; it symbolizes the imperialism of the eastern Semites. The going forth from Babel to Ashur signifies merely that the star of empire passed westward. Therefore Ashur can be called "the land of Nimrod" (Mic. 5:4 f.) in later times, while a thousand years earlier this epithet only fitted Babel.

Some of the geographical detail of Gen. 10:11 f. is very puzzling. Shall we assume that a traveler who had visited Nineveh brought back and handed down an exact account of small towns in its immediate vicinity? Only such a supposition would permit us to adopt the view that Rehoboth Ir is a *rêbit-Nina*[1] and Resen a *rish-êni*.[2] But if the westward trend of the star of empire is described in Nimrod's going out to Ashur, we would rather expect the names of great and famous cities, similar to those mentioned in Babylonia. It is unlikely that the writer should have known, or that the reader should have cared about, such minor sites as the above-mentioned identifications.

The name Rehoboth[3] might be an appellation given to any great city that had a number of "public squares" and was an important center of commercial activity. The use of a secondary name or of an appellative often becomes predominant; thus Jerusalem became known as *Ḳadōsh*—"the holy one" (today still *El-Ḳuds*). Rehoboth possibly applied to Arbela, which ranks with Nineveh and Calah as one of the greatest of Assyrian cities; but *Raṣappa* (the biblical Rezeph) should also receive mention because its name, meaning "paved street," suggests affinity with "public squares,"[4] and because it was an important outpost on the Aramean frontier. If Resen refers to a large city, then the localization "between Nineveh and Calah" must be a gloss, like the other statement following it, "that

[1] Cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 216.

[2] Johns, *Enc. Bib.*, col. 4038; cf. Nestle *ZDMG*, 1904, pp. 158 f.

[3] König, *Die Genesis* (1919), p. 402, rightly says that *Ir* is not a part of the name, but merely emphasizes the use of the common word Rehoboth as a proper name.

[4] Cf. my *Aram and Israel* (1918), p. 63, and Herzfeld and Sarre, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, I (1911), p. 136. It is not quite clear, however, whether *Raṣappa* was an Assyrian possession as early as the time of the Jahwist.

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is the great city." Perhaps the time-honored caravanserai Resaina (*Rās-el-ᶜain*) is the original Resen. But these suggestions must be taken as very hypothetical, since it is impossible to demonstrate them. The point to be emphasized is that it is the mention of really important cities that should be expected.

A city king of ancient Marad, whose true name remains forgotten, then a god of war and of the chase, and finally the symbol of the imperialism of the eastern Semites, such has been the career of *En-marad* = Nimrod. At *Wannet-es-Sa ᶜdūn*, a mound on the Euphrates, west of Nippur, marking the site of Marad, his career was begun. There Naram-Sin's son built *E-igi-kalama*, "the house of the eye of the lands," as the place where Nimrod was to be worshiped, because the divine hero had been his father's helper in battle. Thus reads the inscription on the door socket of the original Nimrod temple (Clay, *Misc. Inscr.*, No. 10):

> Naram-Sin, the mighty king of the four quarters, the conqueror of nine armies in one year, when those armies he overcame and their three kings he bound and before Enlil brought, in that day *Libet-ili*, his son, the ruler of Marad, the temple of *Lugal-marad-da* in Marad built. Whosoever alters this inscription may Shamash and *Lugal-marad-da* tear out his foundation and exterminate his seed.

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# Critical Notes

## RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM

Over thirty years ago M. Clermont-Ganneau suggested that the great southern curve made by the tunnel of Hezekiah, which conducts the waters of the so-called Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam, had been purposely designed to avoid interference with the Tombs of the Kings of Judah. It was to test this theory that Captain Weill, using the generous funds of M. Rothschild and working under the general and long-distance direction of M. Clermont-Ganneau, undertook excavations, during parts of the years 1913 and 1914, on the southern part of the hill Ed-Dahoura, popularly known in Jerusalem topography as Ophel. The report of his work is contained in his admirable volume, entitled *La Cité de David*.[1] For Captain Weill's excavations had a wider purpose than the discovery of the Royal Tombs, namely, the desire to throw further light on the Fortress of Zion which David captured from the Jebusites and named after himself, and where he and twelve of his successors were buried. In later history the City of David bore the same relationship to Jerusalem as the City of London does to the Greater London of today.

The reasons that have led scholars to locate this lost fortress at an apparently insignificant point on the hills over which spreads the modern city, namely, on the southern extension of the Temple Hill that tapers down to the Pool of Siloam, are in general as follows: A study of the sites of the old Canaanitish towns, Lachish, Gezer, Jericho, etc., shows the common feature of a spring of water at the base of a hill on which the fortress was built. Now the only two springs near Jerusalem are the Virgin's Fountain and the Well of Job, the former being at the eastern base of the "Ophel" Hill and the latter at some distance down the broad valley which unites the drainage of the Hinnom, Kedron, and Tyropoeon valleys. Historical analogy shows that the original Jebus must have been small. The "king" of Jerusalem allied himself with the "kings" of Lachish and Eglon, sites that cover a limited area. To the eye of the modern tourist the defensibility of the hill of Ophel is not apparent. To be sure, the steep fall to the Kedron Valley is still a striking feature, but to realize that a similar fall once existed to the west he must examine the rock contours of the Tyropoeon Valley, on the plate accompanying the *Excavations at Jerusalem* of Bliss and Dickie. There is indicated the sharp fall from Ophel to a point 70 feet below the

[1] *La Cité de David.* Compte rendu des fouilles exécutées, à Jérusalem, sur la site de la ville primitive: campagne de 1913–1914. Par Raymond Weill. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1920. Pp. 201. With portfolio of 26 plates.



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surface level of the cauliflower gardens. Once granted that the City of David was on this hill, the situation of the Royal Tombs at some point thereon is a necessary corollary, as, according to Scripture, thirteen kings of Judah were buried in the City of David.

Almost one-half of Weill's brochure of 201 pages is taken up with the historical and topographical problems, including a review of the work of his predecessors in Jerusalem excavation. The documentary evidence for the localizing of the City of David on the Ophel Hill, furnished by passages in Nehemiah describing the repairing of the walls, is clearly set forth. The elaborate system of the canalization of the waters of the Virgin's Fountain, effected at various periods, is followed minutely. The historical presumptions for and against Clermont-Ganneau's theory as to the reason for the great southern curve taken by Hezekiah's tunnel are impartially discussed. Weill traces, in brief, the excavations of Warren (1867–70), Guthe (1882), Bliss and Dickie (1894–97), and Parker (1909–11). The sensational accounts of Parker's work, which led to local difficulties in connection with the Mosque of Omar, unfortunately obscured for a time their scientific value, which was insured by the careful co-operation of Père Vincent of the Dominican School of Biblical Studies. Parker has now been rehabilitated by Weill's generous recognition. Weill also takes into account the labors of Dr. Schick, a resident of Jerusalem, who, while never conducting excavations on a large scale, kept his eye on almost every hole dug for one purpose or another during a series of years.

The second and longer portion of Weill's report concerns itself with his own excavations. These were conducted on a plot of ground situated within the area under which is found the great southern curve of Hezekiah's tunnel. This plot had been purchased bit by bit—and well does the reviewer recognize the difficulties that must have been involved in the transaction!—and was irregular in shape, with a maximum length of 265 m., and a maximum breadth of 68 m. Ground was broken on November 5, 1913, and work was continued till March 8, 1914, thus covering the rainy season, when for the most part, our expedition of 1894–97 found excavation inadvisable. The learned advice of Père Vincent was again at the disposal of a Jerusalem excavator. I had the privilege of going over the results with Captain Weill when unfortunately he was in the Beyrout hospital in the spring of 1919 and not long after I visited the field of his labors.

The main object of the work was to test Clermont-Ganneau's theory though the account of the excavations describes the discovery of "other monuments and remains important for the archaeology of the acropolis and for the history of the town in later times." To make a long story short, large tombs of the early Jewish period were found in the predicted area. Moreover, the excavator holds that these did form part of the royal necropolis where thirteen of the Jewish kings were buried, from David down to Ahaz. Unfortunately, these tombs were in "an extreme state of devastation."

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But they were by no means of the character which Clermont-Ganneau and others had expected. The excavator says (p. 173):

> As far as we could ascertain, there was no complex *hypogée* having a single entrance; no pit mouth giving access to a subterraneous city, arranged in tiers; there was nothing but isolated chambers, each having a separate opening to the outside air, and so little concealed that the violation of the tombs would have been an easy matter, once the administrative and religious conditions, or, indeed, the disturbance of the times, permitted the accomplishment of such an act. And we also see that among the different Royal Tombs that of David himself will probably always remain unknown to us . . . . his burial-place will not be revealed, except under peculiarly happy circumstances, i.e., the finding, in the still unexplored part of the cemetery, of a monument, by some extraordinary chance in good preservation and so situated or so wrought that its claim to be the earliest in date will be recognizable.

While there is a diversity of plan in these tombs, they have common marks of workmanship which relegate them to a pre-Roman period.

> The most noteworthy characteristics which unite them arise from the irregularity of execution, of that kind of irregularity which struck us in the monuments of the ancient city, deep-seated, fundamental, irremediable, and in a certain way essential, which forbade that any chamber should be really square, that a gallery should be developed with a perfectly uniform breadth, etc. [page 161].

Were these tombs, found in the area above the great southern curve of the tunnel, the *raison d'être* for that curve? Captain Weill answers this question in the negative. He shows that the large curve to the north could not have impinged in any way on the supposed "interdicted" area and must be explained on other grounds. He points to many small sinuosities made by the tunnel. He holds that these early engineers were incapable of following a straight line between two points even above ground. The comparatively slight depth of the tombs below the surface rules out the contention that these engineers wished to avoid interference with the actual tombs. At most they could have had in view the objection of passing *under* the tombs, either from motives of respect or for the avoidance of legal impurity. But Captain Weill maintains that it was precisely at the time of Hezekiah that the tombs had ceased to be regarded as venerable. There remains, then, the question of a legal impurity that might be caused by the passing of the tunnel under the place where dead bodies were found. On this point he holds that all such ideas were subsequent to the time of Hezekiah. We may note in this connection that Hezekiah's father, Ahaz, was the last king to be buried in the City of David. Weill cites the exilic prophecy of Ezekiel, who exclaims (43:9): "Now let them put away their whoredom, and the carcasses of their kings, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them forever." Incidentally Weill remarks that this prophecy probably remained only a theoretic protest, never carried into effect.

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Of the incidental finds perhaps the most important was the inscription of Theodotus, on a stèle of limestone, 0.75 m. in length and 0.41 m. in breadth. We copy Weill's transcription:

Θεόδοτος Οὐεττήνου ἱερεὺς καὶ
ἀρχισυνάγωγος υἱὸς ἀρχισυναγώ-
γου υἱωνὸς ἀρχισυναγώγου ᾠκο-
δόμησε τὴν συναγωγὴν εἰς ἀνάγνω-
σιν νόμου καὶ εἰς διδαχὴν ἐντολῶν καὶ
τὸν ξενῶνα καὶ τὰ δώματα καὶ τὰ χρη-
στήρια τῶν ὑδάτων εἰς κατάλυμα τοῖ-
ς χρήζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ξένης ἣν ἐθεμε-
λίωσαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ πρε-
σβύτεροι καὶ Σιμωνίδης.

Commenting on this inscription, Weill remarks that it commemorates the erection, by one Theodotus, of a synagogue, with a khan and a bath, for the convenience of transient travelers, endowed by the elders of the community, including Theodotus' own ancestors, and by a certain Simonides, apparently so well known that it was not found necessary to particularize him further. This Simonides seems to have played the principal rôle in the history of the foundation, the practical work having been left in hands of Theodotus, who acted as architect and administrator of the fund. The period of the inscription is not clear, but arguments based on a consideration of the word Ouetennos, the patronymic of Theodotus, favor some date previous to 70 A.D.

FREDERICK JONES BLISS

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

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# Book Reviews

## ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY[1]

The historian who attempts to settle problems in Assyrian history is unwise at any time and especially in and after a great war, when scholarship is interrupted and works of scholarship do not circulate freely. In the case of the reviewer's study on early Assyria, *AJSL*, XXXVI, 124 ff., retribution for such rashness has followed with unusual swiftness, for Weidner's discovery of a few chronological tables among the Ashur tablets, in part published in Germany as early as 1915,[2] and now completed in the study before us, has antiquated the whole. The actual results can be given in three or four pages, but they force a complete re-writing of almost every page in the earlier Assyrian history.

A certain Ititi is now added to the non-Semitic Ushpia and Kikia. The first family group is extended to include Puzur Ashir I, Shalim ahum, Ilu shuma (also called Shamshi Ishuma), Erishum I, Ikunum, Sargon I, Puzur Ashir II, Ahi Ashir, Rim Sin, Erishum II. It was already known that Ilu shuma was contemporary with Sumu abu; from the chief tablet we learn that Erishum lived at the time of Sumu la ilu. It is probable that the Rim Sin of the list is the well-known Larsa king whose territory included Amurru.

After a "Babylonische Fremdherrschaft," whose length will be determined by one's views as to the date of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we have the group Shamshi Adad I, to whom all the early inscriptions are assigned in this latest study, Ishme Dagan I, . . . . ashshat, and Rimush. A third group begins about 1825 with Adasi, from whom Esarhaddon counted his descent, and includes Bel bani, Shabai, Sharma Adad I, Gizil Sin, Zimzai, Lullai. One edition omits this group entirely, showing doubt of the legitimacy, and the names are unusual.

About 1750 Pan Ninua arrives, and after him Sharma Adad II, Erishum III, Shamshi Adad II, Ishme Dagan II, Shamshi Adad III, an unknown, the signs of whose name cannot be read, Puzur Ashir III, Enlil nasir I, Nur ilu, Ishme Dagan III, Ashir nirari I, covering the period to about 1550. Puzur Ashir IV has first relations with Babylonia. Enlil nasir II, Ashir rabi I, and Ashir nirari II are followed by Ashir bel nisheshu and Ashir rim nisheshu, no longer to be identified. We now reach the well-known rulers, where also the older form for the chief deity Ashir is changed to the

[1] *Die Könige von Assyrien*, "Neue chronologische Dokumente aus Assur." Ernst F. Weidner, Leipzig; Hinrichs, 1921. 66 pages, M. 10.

[2] *MVAG*, XX, 4; *MDOG*, LVIII.



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better-known Ashur, Ashur nadin ahe, Eriba Adad, Ashur uballit, Enlil nirari, Arik den ilu, Adad nirari I, Shalmaneser I, Tukulti Ninurta I. The son who assassinated the last named was Ashur nadin apal, not Ashur nasir apal. Ashur nirari III ruled six years, which we may place 1213–1207, and Enlil kudur usur five, 1207–1202.

Weidner has very cleverly proved that six numbers on a broken edge apply to the six following rulers. Ninurta apal ekur I, whose ancestor Eriba Adad did not rule and should not be counted, reigned twenty-seven years (1202–1175), and Ashur dan I thirty-five (1175–1140). Ninurta tukulti Ashur is intercallated next in some tablets, but his reign can only be calculated at three years according to Weidner. Without doubt he is a usurper, and as clearly is the man mentioned in the two letters discussed *AJSL*, XXXVI, 142 ff. The author of the first must be Nebuchadnezzar I, whose reign is shown to have begun just before. The Enlil kudur usur on whom the former dating was based cannot as a result be the Assyrian king.

The line was restored by Mutakkil Nusku with ten years (1137–1127), Ashur resh ishi with twelve (1127–1115), and the great Tiglath Pileser I with thirteen (1115–1102). The Ninurta apal ekur II, who follows him for ten years (1102–1092), is a usurper. Ashur bel kala, son of Tiglath Pileser I, is given seventeen years (1092–1075), but his name appears twice with Enlil rabi between, and Weidner suggests that he was expelled by this man and that his already known visit to Babylon secured the aid which reinstated him. He is followed by Eriba-?, where we might conjecture the doubtful sign an error for Adad, assuming that he was a son of Ashur bel kala and that he was named from the ancestor of the dynasty's founder. Only then do we have Shamshi Adad IV, another son of Tiglath Pileser I. Ashur nasir apal I, with nineteen years, is assigned to 1049–1030, Shalmaneser II with twelve to 1030–1018, and Ashur nirari IV with six to 1018–1012. Ashur rabi has at least fourteen years, but we do not know the length of reign of Ashur resh ishi II. Tiglath Pileser II with thirty-three years is placed from 966–933. Ashur dan II is the last before we have our old and well-fixed chronology.

The numbers of well-known kings are changed in many cases. We have Adad nirari II, Tukulti Ninurta II, Ashur nasir apal II, Shalmaneser III, Shamshi Adad V, Adad nirari III, Shalmaneser IV, Ashur dan III, Adad nirari IV, Ashur nirari V, Tiglath Pileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II. The most striking change here is that Tiglath Pileser is no longer the fourth but the third. With but slight exceptions, the list of Assyrian kings is now complete.

Weidner also gives a table of all the Babylonian kings. His earlier dates are based on that for the First Dynasty of Babylon, 2057–1758, which he secures with the aid of Neugebauer, from the same Venus observations which gave Kugler the generally accepted 2225–1926. Weidner's date is later by forty-nine years than the latest alternative date given by Kugler.

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When astronomers disagree, simple historians must appeal to synchronisms. Weidner finds support for his date in the dating of Ilu shuma and Erishum by Shalmaneser I and Tukulti Ninurta I which gave for the latter 2039–2019. He also finds collaborative evidence in a variant reading for the date of the capture of Nana by the Elamites as given by Ashur bani apal. But this is an unimportant fragment, while the true reading seems that of the two better documents, while Weidner himself rejects other cases of simple calculation which indeed must be always viewed with some suspicion.

Judged by calculations alone, the data favor Kugler. The Berossus date of 2232 for the beginning of the so-called First Dynasty fits Kugler's 2225 too closely to be accidental. Nabu naid states that Hammurapi lived seven hundred years before Burna Buriash and seven hundred years before 1385, the date of the accession of Burna Buriash II according to Weidner, gives 2085, four years before the death of Hammurapi, according to Kugler. Further, Enlil nadin apal states that Gulkishar of the Second Dynasty lived 696 years before his fourth year, and Weidner frankly admits that he can do nothing with this statement. Adding 696 to 1120, not more than two or three years out of the way at most, we have 1816 as Enlil nadin apal's date for Gulkishar, while the one based on Kugler's astronomy would be 1860–1805. Weidner's own chief source is a witness against him. It gives in one column the list of Assyrian kings and in the next the Babylonian king who was contemporary. Just once we do have two Babylonian kings in one line, and they are Ea Gamil the last king of the Second Dynasty and Gandush, the first of the Third, and they are contemporary with Shamshi Adad II. Now Shamshi Adad II is placed by Weidner 1724–1714 and Gandash 1746–1731, the second one year later than I did, but Ea gamil he assigns to 1525–1517. The Assyrian scholars did strange things, but that they should place in one line kings who lived two centuries apart seems rather difficult to assume.

There is, however, another test which is not in the form of calculation. Ea gamil, the last king of the Second Dynasty, was defeated by Ulam Buriash, brother of Kashtiliash I, whose date is admitted to be not far from 1707–1685. But 1685 is the very year secured from the Kugler data as the end of the Second Dynasty, and Kashtiliash is the second successor of Gandash whom the Ashur tablet brackets with Ea gamil. Weidner avoids these extraordinary coincidences by assuming a group Burna Buriash I, Kashtiliash II, and Agum III, dating 1537–1461 with whom to connect Ulam Buriash. Most historians will feel that, on non-astronomical grounds, the Kugler dates come nearer the other evidence.

The new tablets add here and there to our knowledge of Babylonian chronology. Between Gulkishar and Peshgaldaramash we find inserted . . . . r)i-en. For the Third Dynasty we have the order Gandash, Agum I, Kashtiliash I, Ishshi, Abirattash, Tazzigurumush, Harbi shipak, an unknown king, and then only Agum II, the son of Tazzigurumush, Kuri-

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galzu I, Melishipak I, and Nazimaruttash I. The three next, Burna Buriash I, Kashtiliash II, and Agum III, seem to have their chief reason for existence in the avoidance of the Ulam Buriash synchronism. From the Amarna period, he has Kara Indash I, Kurigalzu II, Kadashman Enlil I, and Burna Buriash II. In his earlier study he could not fit his scheme into the Egyptian synchronisms, and he expressed his skepticism of the Egyptian chronology; now he has succeeded in adapting his results to the Egyptian data.

Nebuchadnezzar I is now firmly fixed as the third king of the Fourth Dynasty. It is therefore probable that his father, Ninurta nadin shum, was the second, but unfortunately only Ninurta . . . . is preserved on the new as on the old list. If Nebuchadnezzar was the writer of the Ninurta tukulti Ashur letter, then his father was certainly king. We already knew that Enlil nadin apal and Marduk nadin ahe followed Nebuchadnezzar, and the reviewer had suggested (*AJSL*, XXXVI, 151 f.) that next came Ittit Marduk balatu, seemingly the son of Marduk nadin ahe, that Marduk shapik zer mati broke this line as a usurper, and that the line was restored by Adad apal iddina. As an actual fact, our chief tablet shows enough of each of the next three lines to prove that these three kings followed and in this order.

The last king of the Sixth Dynasty is shown to be Shiriqtu Shuqamuna and the fifth of the Eighth, Nabu shum ukin I. Weidner assigns Marduk zakir shum to 851–828, but he was living in 825 when he forced a very disadvantageous treaty on Shamshi Adad V. Under the reign of Sennacherib, we should restore Nergal ushezib as the son of G(a-hul. Clay has long argued that Kandalanu was not the same as Ashur bani apal; the regular opposition of the two on these tablets proves him right.

The little book is for the close student of Assyrian history. For such, there has not appeared so fundamental a work in many a long day.

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## THE HITTITE PROBLEM

There are those who insist that it is useless to try to decipher any new script until a bilingual has come to hand. The Rosetta Stone and the Rock of Behistun will be called on as witnesses to the truth of such an assertion. On the other hand, the reviewer believes that as long as there is a live student of language left there will be attempts made to decipher the undeciphered—bilingual or no bilingual. The "Hittite" hieroglyphs have had many decipherers, but probably not one out of twenty ventured to publish his results. The decipherments of Sayce, Jensen, and Thompson—to mention by name a few of those who divulged their secret—were given out before the Boghaz-keui documents became available. And now Bodley's learned librarian has tried his hand at the task.[1] Perhaps, when the riddle of the hieroglyphs is finally solved, some of his results will stand.

[1] *The Hittites* (Schweich Lectures for 1918). By A. E. Cowley. London: Oxford University Press, 1920. viii +94 pages.

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Like most of those interested in this problem, the reviewer hoped that the publication of the cuneiform documents found by Winckler would lead to an early conquest of the hieroglyphs. This hope now seems doomed to be blasted. In the first place, the excavations have made it probable that most, if not all, of the hieroglyphic inscriptions date from a period considerably later than that of the cuneiform texts. In the second place, the work done so far on the latter shows that we have to do not with one but at least half a dozen "Hittite" languages. Forrer, the discoverer of "the eight languages of the Boghaz-keui documents," is inclined to think that the language of the hieroglyphs will turn out to be that of the Harri.

Only the last of the three lectures was devoted to the problem of decipherment. The other two give a very good résumé of the progress made in the last forty-odd years in recovering the history of the peoples of Asia Minor whom we have been, somewhat loosely, calling "Hittites." I am shocked to find 3800 B.C. given as the date of Sargon of Akkad (p. 20). Are the Philistines and the Pelasgoi the same people (p. 23)? Isn't it time to bury the name Bir-idri (p. 16) and read Adad-idri of Damascus? Let us hope that Dr. Cowley will find time to revise his decipherment in the light of the latest results obtained from the Boghaz-keui texts.

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## NEW CAPPADOCIAN TABLETS

Some thirty years ago the attention of scholars was first directed to certain cuneiform documents which came from mounds near Caesarea (south of the Halys in central Cappadocia). The personal names found in these texts, many of them containing Ashir, or Ashur, as an element, were easily recognized as Assyrian. But the date of the documents was not so easily determined. It was usually given as "early Assyrian period" or "before 1500 B.C." Thureau-Dangin was able to date them in the twenty-fourth pre-Christian century by means of a seal impression found on a case tablet (*RA*, VIII, 1911). In view of the Assyrian names borne by the people who wrote these documents, and the fact that they dated events in Assyrian fashion (using the old Assyrian month names and the *limmu*-system) it has been concluded that we have to do, not with an Assyrian dependency, but rather with a colony of Assyrians in close touch with the mother country.

Two new volumes of texts, one from tablets in the Louvre,[1] the other from tablets in the British Museum,[2] have just appeared, and will, when their contents have been digested, undoubtedly throw much light upon early Assyrian history. Names like Kiki, Kiki-danim, Ikunu (m), Shalim-ahum at once call to mind the earliest rulers of Assyria with whom we became acquainted largely through the tablets found by the Germans at Ashur

[1] G. Contenau, *Tablettes Cappadociennes*. Paris: Geuthner, 1920. 18 pages and LXX plates.

[2] Sidney Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*. London, 1921. British Museum. 26 pages and 52 plates.

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(Kalat-Shergat). Mr. Sidney Smith, who gave us the British Museum volume, regards "the language of these documents" as "a pure Semitic tongue which may justly be considered to be different from the Akkadian" (p. 6). If he means "later" Akkadian, I should agree with him. We have very little material from which to construct the phonetics and grammar of the contemporaneous Akkadian. But one of the examples which he quotes to show the difference between the Cappadocian Semitic and the Akkadian, namely *u-si-zi-a* = Akk. *ušeşia* (p. 7), points just the other way. Our earliest Akkadian, known from the inscriptions of Sargon and his successors, found at Nippur, show the prevalence of a *saphel* instead of a *shaphel*. On the other hand the pronominal suffixes seem to be *šu*, *šunu*, etc. rather than *su*, *sunu*, etc., which the Sargon Dynasty texts show. These texts will certainly be of the greatest importance for the historical study of the eastern Semitic tongues.

Detailed studies of the texts should also throw light upon the development of business law and methods in these pre-Hammurabi days. Will they show a development dependent upon, or largely independent of, Akkad, which, we may assume, handed on its traditions to Babylon? The normal interest rate of 25 per cent per annum is 5 per cent higher than the normal Babylonian rate, and rates of 10 per cent per month, which seem to Mr. Smith "to be intended as prohibitory" recall the exorbitant interest rates of later Assyrian days. It is also interesting to note that "the loan tablets are drawn up according to a precise formula corresponding to that in use in Assyria in the Sargonid period, B.C. 700–630."

Of especial interest, to the reviewer at least, is the frequent occurrence of the name of the city of Ganish. Does this city lie under the sod of Kala Tepe, the mound from which most of these tablets probably came? Furthermore, is Ganish identical with the Kanish which gave its name to the principal dialect of the "Hittite" documents from Boghaz-keui? If this should prove to be the case, might we not have found in the Assyrian colonists of this region the very men who brought the cuneiform script to Asia Minor to be handed on to the "Hittite" peoples, and to Syria-Palestine as well?

These are but a few of the many interesting problems these volumes raise. One might go on to discuss the five-day week, which gave Winckler so much opportunity for speculation, as well as the names of the months and the eponyms. But one must break off somewhere.

M. Contenau and Mr. Smith have placed us all under obligations to them. They have had a difficult task and have shown much skill and patience in its performance.

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## ORIENTAL JUDAISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Dr. Mann[1] has made the attempt to reconstruct Jewish history in Egypt and Palestine from the inception of the Fatimid rule in 969 until about the

[1] *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimids.* By Jacob Mann. Oxford University Press, 1920.

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time of the death of Maimonides, 1204, basing his efforts, primarily, on Genizah fragments still unpublished. He has reserved the index and the Genizah material of which he makes use for a second volume which will not be published for some time. The first five chapters of this work include all the new material available; the last chapter, concerning itself with the communal organization of Egypt and Palestine, makes use of all accessible material, old as well as new.

The book is by no means a history in the popular sense of the term. The author has taken a number of fragments of the valuable Genizah discoveries, and has developed them historically. He has hardly sufficient material to develop a complete, rounded history of Egyptian and Palestinian Jewries in the centuries dealt with. Neither do I think that he has in many instances changed our general conception of the life, attitude, and character of Egyptian Jewry as set forth by our Jewish historians of the past few decades. The real contribution of Dr. Mann is the scholarly method which he applies to this new and valuable material to fill out the hitherto bare outlines of this period.

The author has made heroic efforts to reconstruct the communal and political organization of the Jews during the Fatimid rule. His lists of religious and political leaders, based as they are on fragments, are necessarily hypothetical. Much of the work is devoted to the development of a chain of leaders and their activities in their relation to their fellows, but until all the Genizah material has been utilized and subjected to our present-day canons of criticism, these reconstructed lists must necessarily be accepted with caution.

The work is particularly valuable because of the insight it gives into the cultural, social, and economic life of people in the Levant in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It supplements materially the work of Benjamin of Tudela, the twelfth-century Jewish traveller. It checks up contemporary Jewish and Arabic chronicles and aids us to determine their accuracy; corrects and supplements various details in Steinschneider and Graetz, and modifies or shows the inaccuracy of later Jewish writers in the Genizah field. As a social and cultural study of Egyptian and Palestinian life this work is of the greatest value, not only to Jewish but also to general historians.

Very interesting are scattered references that evidence not only the general ignorance of the Jewish masses of the Hebrew language and literature, but also their complete adoption of the prevailing Arabic culture evidenced in the general use of the Arabic vernacular; Arabic personal names, and frequent references to conversion. All this helps to dispel the still lingering idea that Medieval Jewry was as a class well versed in Hebraic lore.

The character of the inner life of the masses, as presented in the many letters quoted, indicates that they prospered, particularly in Egypt, despite heavy taxation; that individuals achieved political position of the greatest importance, and that the fortunes of the people were always subject to the caprices of the individual monarchs, most of whom, however, were inclined toward tolerance.

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Various documents used by the author throw much light on Rabbinic and Karaite relations. It seems to be quite evident that the wall of absolute separation, which in some cities was more real than figurative, had not yet been reared. Intermarriage was not infrequent; even a prominent patriarch and head of an academy did not hesitate to marry a Karaite woman. The religious differences of the two groups did not prevent them from co-operating in important communal problems. Maimonides, defining and delimiting Rabbinic Judaism through his widely accepted code, did much to make effective the separation and antipathy of Rabbinism and Karaism, even as the sixteenth-century Council of Trent, in later days, through its formulation of Catholic dogma, made final the division between the Roman and the Protestant churches.

The most interesting thesis of Dr. Mann is his statement that following the Amoraim in Palestine (c. 400 C.E.) there was a Gaonic period similar to the Gaonic régime in Babylon; that the Palestinian schools continued throughout the Byzantine and Moslem periods till the fall of Jerusalem at the time of the First Crusade. The extant Midrashic literature; Massoretic work, and liturgic compositions of Palestinian origin are a product of these schools. A hypothetical list of Palestinian Geonim and Fathers (suffragans), from the ninth into the twelfth century is submitted. His presentation of the development of the schools and leaders of Palestine and later those of Egypt, is interesting but does not materially modify our present conception of this period of Jewish life. Babylon, until the eleventh century, was the center of the Rabbinic world. The lack of permanent literary achievements in Palestine and Egypt indicates that in all important matters recourse was always had to the more learned and authoritative Babylonians. In the period of the break-up of the Babylonian leadership and before the acknowledged hegemony of the Spanish school, the Palestinian and Egyptian academies made an attempt to maintain their scholastic independence. That the attempt was unsuccessful is seen in the advent in the twelfth century of spiritual leaders from Spain and France.

It is hoped that Dr. Mann, who has evidenced his ability to treat the Genizah material in a thorough, scientific fashion, will publish more of his studies which have served, admirably, to throw light on an obscure period of Jewish history.

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FIG. 1.—AIRPLANE VIEW LOOKING WEST ACROSS THE VAST CONSTRUCTION CAUSEWAY OF THE DEMOLISHED PYRAMID OF ABU ROASH, EGYPT

*A–B* is the causeway or ramp; *C* is the site of the demolished pyramid. This snapshot, the first ever made by the writer from an airplane, was taken at an elevation of about a mile, at a distance of probably a mile and a half from the causeway. This is the northernmost pyramid of Egypt, erected by Dedefre of the Fourth Dynasty, successor of the famous Khufu (Cheops), twenty-ninth century B.C. It has been completely demolished by modern native quarriers. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7800 by J. H. B.

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# THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO—A BEGINNING AND A PROGRAM[1]

BY JAMES HENRY BREASTED
University of Chicago

A brief announcement of the organization of the Oriental Institute in 1919, made possible by the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has already been published by the writer in the pages of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (1919, pp. 196–204). The subsequent development of the work of the Institute, a large increase in its resources likewise due to Mr. Rockefeller, and the resulting expansion of its activities, make necessary a further account of what has already been accomplished and of the program contemplated. This account is not intended to be a technical statement of results or plans, but a purely popular and preliminary presentation which will be intelligible to readers quite outside the ranks of professional orientalists. The purpose of this new organization is the expansion and maintenance of Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago, that it may serve as a laboratory for the investigation of the career of early man in the Near East, and thus furnish the teaching staff of the Department of Oriental Languages the materials and the opportunity for researches which will contribute to the recovery of the ancient civilizations whose languages are taught by the Department. The personnel of the Institute is therefore largely drawn from the teaching staff of the Department of Oriental Languages, but in addition to these members of the

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University Department there are others, eight or more in number, who do no teaching and devote all their time to the work of the Institute. This gives the Institute a staff of thirteen or more members.

The discussion is divided into the following eight sections:

I. The First Field Expedition of the Oriental Institute
II. Purchases, Installations, and Diagrams
III. The Assyrian-Babylonian Dictionary
IV. The Coffin Texts and Early Stages of Egyptian Religion in the Forerunners of the Book of the Dead
V. The Tales of Kalila and Dimna and the Ancestry of Animal Fables
VI. The Archives
VII. Co-operation with Other Institutions
VIII. Publications

## I. THE FIRST FIELD EXPEDITION OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE[1]

While the Institute was not primarily planned to carry on excavations, it was designed from the first to furnish its members with occasional opportunities to make rapid exploring expeditions in the Near East and to study original materials in the great museums both in the Near East and in Europe. It was planned that these expeditions should acquire by purchase new bodies of original documents for the expansion of the collections in Haskell Oriental Museum and thus make the Museum a more adequate magazine of materials for research, as well as a fuller expression of the life of ancient man for the sake of the student body of the University. The first expedition, which went out in 1919, included, besides the Director and Dr. Luckenbill, three graduate students of the Department of Oriental Languages: Messrs. A. W. Shelton, L. S. Bull, and W. F. Edgerton.

The destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the conditions resulting from the Great War, which for the first time in many centuries placed the earliest homes of civilization under enlightened government, made it urgently necessary for the new Oriental Institute to undertake a preliminary reconnoissance of the Near East and to secure by purchase from antiquity dealers there as well as in Europe, at least a share of the ancient documents of all sorts which had been accumulating in their hands during the war.

[1] For the interested readers among the more immediate friends of the University of Chicago, a popular account of this expedition appeared in the *University Record* in January, 1921 (Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 6–25). The following rapid sketch of the expedition is a modification of this *Record* article for readers who may not have seen it there.

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The most notable among these purchases in Europe is a papyrus copy of the *Book of the Dead*, a roll about thirty feet long written in *hieratic*, and with numerous colored vignettes. It is to be called "Papyrus Ryerson" in honor of the donor, Mr. Martin A. Ryerson. Leaving Paris on October 17 and embarking from Venice, the writer arrived in Cairo on October 30 after a journey of almost insurmountable difficulties at a number of points. Post-war Cairo in the throes of nationalistic agitation had completely lost its old charm. My time was divided between the antiquity dealers and the great national museum, where there were many new accessions and recent discoveries which I had never seen. Among these, the most notable monuments which I found time to examine more fully were several fragments of black stone containing the oldest known royal annals in human history, like those of the famous Palermo Stone. Although these new Cairo fragments had been twice published, it was still possible to secure numerous new readings, especially a group of ten predynastic kings of united Egypt, proving therefore that there was a long-enduring union of Egypt before the dynasties—that is, a predynastic dynasty, the oldest group of rulers over a united country now known in the human career. They must reach back toward 4000 B.C., and perhaps much earlier.

The extraordinary unfinished and later demolished pyramid of the Fourth Dynasty at Abu Roash, where a colossal structural causeway still survives, was very pleasantly visited in company with Lord and Lady Allenby, who kindly invited me to ride out there on horseback. I found it a pretty large order to control the powerful horse, the charger Lord Allenby had ridden on his famous Palestine campaign and which he kindly contributed as my mount. Lord Allenby takes a deep and very discerning interest in Egypt, both ancient and modern. I took occasion to urge upon him the desirability of photographing the desert margin from an airplane, which might thus disclose prehistoric cemeteries too faintly defined to be observable from the ground. He therefore very graciously requested the commander of the Royal Air Force at Cairo to place a plane and pilot at my disposal for an experimental trip. On January 13, 1920, I flew with this plane from the Heliopolis aerodrome across the southern delta directly to Abu Roash. Here, as the first

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snapshot I ever made from the air, I was able to photograph the extraordinary causeway in which Lord Allenby is so much interested (see Fig. 1). The flight then continued southward along the edge of the desert, traversing nearly the whole sixty-mile pyramid cemetery. I was told that a first flight is usually limited to twenty minutes, but in order to cover the desired ground on this trip it was necessary to stay up some two hours and circle repeatedly over the various sites. It was an exceedingly "bumpy" day, and I suffered greatly from seasickness. The bumpiness forced us to stay up about five thousand feet, and this seriously reduced the size of the negatives. I secured negatives of the desert beside the leading pyramid cemeteries, nevertheless (Fig. 2), but my stay in Cairo was too limited to carry the experiment farther, and I found myself far too busy to go on with it. The officers of the Royal Air Force, however, understand what is needed, and have continued making negatives of the leading sites along the desert margin. A set of prints from these negatives has been kindly promised us for filing in the archives of the Oriental Institute. While this flight was only a preliminary trial it is evident from this first experiment that an exhaustive air survey of the desert margin recorded in photographic negatives would disclose much that has not yet been discerned on the ground.

Similarly an invitation of Mr. Robert Greg, director-general of the Egyptian Foreign Office, to visit with him and Mrs. Greg the excavations at Abydos and Tell el-Amarna, furnished a very agreeable opportunity to inspect the remarkable discoveries of the last five or six years, especially street after street of dwelling-houses of the fourteenth century B.C. at Amarna, with all household arrangements, baths, sanitary conveniences, drainage, gardens, wells, and even trees in the gardens, all disclosed by the German excavations before the war.

On returning to Cairo the day before Christmas, I found Mr. Ludlow S. Bull, Fellow of the Department of Oriental Languages, just arriving from America, the first additional member of the expedition to join me in the Orient. Mr. Bull then took up studies in the museum under my direction and accompanied me also in the inspection of excavations at Sakkara, Abusir, and Abu Ghurab,

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where discoveries of the highest importance in the history of architecture have been made, including the earliest-known colonnades.

Wise application of the funds at the disposal of the Oriental Institute made it necessary to examine thoroughly from beginning




FIG. 2.—AIRPLANE VIEW OF THE SAHARA MARGIN AT THE PYRAMIDS OF ABUSIR LOOKING NORTH

The desert is on the left, the alluvial floor of the Nile Valley on the right, with checkered fields, irrigation pools and canals. *A–C*, pyramids of Abusir; *A*, pyramid and temple of Sahure; *A–B*, causeway of Sahure; *B*, valley temple of Sahure; *C*, pyramids of Neferirkere and Nuserre; *C–D*, causeway of these two kings; *D*, valley temple of the same. Fifth Dynasty group some miles south of Gizeh, erected twenty-eighth–twenty-seventh centuries B.C. Along such desert margins at the foot of the dry valleys seen here, the predynastic cemeteries, made ages before the pyramids, are commonly situated. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7795 by J. H. B.

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to end all the private collections for sale and all the dealers' stocks available in Cairo and Luxor. The latter were greatly congested because of accumulations during the continuance of the war, when European museums were no longer making their annual selections and the entire body of tourist travelers was also lacking. This work consumed much of the time needed for study and research in the great Cairo museum. The purchases made in Egypt will be found in Section II below.

Our work was much aided by the cordiality of our relations with the European governments in control of the Near East, especially the English and the French. This fact is well illustrated by Lord Allenby's cordial support of my efforts to begin airplane photographic records. I was asked to meet the Milner Commission to discuss Egyptian affairs. I found both Lord Milner and Mr. Alfred Spender, secretary of the Commission, very hopeful and sympathetically interested in the future of scientific research in the Near East, anxious to see incorporated in the report of the Milner Commission recommendations for a sound policy in the government control and support of archaeological research, and I had the pleasure of handing Mr. Spender, at his request, a group of such recommendations.

Just before leaving London it had become evident that our plans for our Asiatic expedition could not be put through without more direct support from the British government. I therefore wrote to Mr. Balfour a few days before my departure from London, explaining the situation and asking the co-operation of the London Foreign Office in our effort to begin scientific work in Western Asia. Shortly after arriving in Cairo I received a kind letter from Mr. Balfour stating that he was relinquishing the Foreign Office to Lord Curzon, but assuring me that he had recommended the support of our work to his successor. A letter from the Foreign Office soon assured me that Lord Curzon had written to Lord Allenby and the Cairo Foreign Office, as well as the Civil Commissioner in Mesopotamia, kindly requesting them to give us every necessary aid. Our first great difficulty, the lack of transportation to Mesopotamia by way of Bombay (as conditions made it impossible to go out there overland from the Mediterranean), was thus overcome, and we cannot be too grateful for the cordial support thus given us by the British government.

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The French Minister at Cairo, M. Lefèvre-Pontalis, is an old friend of Émile Sénart, president of the Société Asiatique. He at once showed a cordial interest in our enterprise. He supplied me with letters to the French provisional government at Beyrut, and a general letter also to all French officials whom we might meet on the frontiers of Asiatic territory in French occupation. He likewise informed the French government at Beyrut of our proposed travels in those regions, received a favorable reply, and handed me an official authorization to traverse French Syria.




FIG. 3.—STUMP OF A SO-CALLED MYRRH-SYCAMORE PLANTED NEARLY 1500 B.C.

The stump is at *A*, planted in the black earth inclosed in a low brick wall. It is one of a number brought from the Somali coast of Africa by Queen Hatshepsut of the early fifteenth century B.C. It is the earliest known example of such transplantation. Its exact botanical identity has still to be determined. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7846 by J. H. B.

On February 2 we returned to Cairo from a second trip in Upper Egypt, where we found much of interest and importance disclosed by new excavations (Fig. 3), of which space will not permit any account in this report.

Sailing from Port Said on February 18, 1920, the party arrived without incident on Sunday, February 29, in Bombay. After only forty-eight hours' delay we sailed on March 2 for Baṣrah, where we arrived on March 9 and disembarked on the tenth. We were met by Colonel Venning, chief-of-staff from the headquarters of the River Command, who took me up to headquarters to enjoy the hospitality of the commander, General Nepean; while the others

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were comfortably quartered at a hotel conducted by the military authorities. A staff car was at once placed at our disposal and, in spite of the enormous extent of territory covered by the supply depots at Baṣrah, the car enabled us to assemble our supplies and equipment rapidly.

A few weeks before our arrival the railway from Baṣrah up the Euphrates side of the alluvial plain to Baghdad had been completed. This railway was placed at our disposal and the University of Chicago expedition was thus the first archaeological expedition to use the Baṣrah-Baghdad railroad.



FIG. 4.—TEMPLE TOWER OF ANCIENT UR, LOWER BABYLONIA, SHOWING EXCAVATIONS DURING THE WAR BY THE BRITISH

Or. Inst. photo. No. 7029 by D. D. L.

Leaving Baṣrah by the night train on the sixteenth of March, with our supplies and equipment in a "goods van," we arrived at Ur Junction, some one hundred and twenty miles from Baṣrah, on the morning of the seventeenth. We were permitted to keep the railway van for the permanent safeguarding of our stuff, while we made excursions out from the railway to the ancient sites we desired to study. After visiting Ur (Fig. 4) and Eridu (Fig. 5) sixteen miles south of it, we proceeded up the Shaṭṭ el-Ḥai, some eighty miles northward of the railway, through a very wild region (Fig. 6–7) over which had marched the expedition which had endeavored to succor General Townshend before his surrender to the Turks at Kût el-ᶜAmâra. Besides the important Sumerian sites of Lagash and Umma (Fig. 7)

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FIG. 5.—TEMPLE TOWER AND RUINS OF ANCIENT ERIDU, LOWER BABYLONIA, THE SO-CALLED PORT OF UR

The city lay on or near the Persian Gulf in 2000 B.C., but, owing to the action of the rivers, it is now some hundred and fifty miles from the nearest shore line. Expedition cars in the foreground. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7035 by D. D. L.

which contain remains reaching back of 3000 B.C., we visited a number of unidentified city mounds on both sides of the Shaṭṭ el-Ḥai, a little-explored region which gave evidence of having been thickly populated at an enormously remote date. Here and elsewhere we saw much of the admirable work being done by the British (Fig. 8) in civilizing this turbulent district of wild nomads who had not paid any taxes to the Turks for fifteen years before the war.



FIG. 6.—PART OF OUR ARAB ESCORT IN LOWER BABYLONIA

Seven sheikhs accompanied the expedition on a forty-mile ride from Ḳalʿ at es-Sikkar on the Shaṭṭ el-Ḥai to Tell Yokha, ancient Umma. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6751 by J. H. B.

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FIG. 7.—THE OUTLAW SHEIKH MIZʿAL AND HIS FELLOW-OUTLAWS OF THE ALBU-GHWENÎN AFTER FORMAL SUBMISSION TO CAPTAIN CRAWFORD, ASSISTANT POLITICAL OFFICER AT ḲALʿ AT ES-SIKKAR

Captain Crawford is the only European in the line. Sheikh Mizʿal is the figure on his right. The incident took place on the mound of Tell Yokha, where the group is standing, the sheikh, with some thirty or forty rifles, having ridden in upon us with seemingly hostile intent. Dissatisfied with the conditions offered by Crawford, he withdrew his submission and rode away. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6750 by J. H. B.

Returning to the railway at Ur we moved up the line through Lower Babylonia, making local trips away from the railway either in motor launches on the river (Euphrates) or in automobiles, all furnished by the British administration. In this way the more important remaining sites of Lower Babylonia were visited, espe-



FIG. 8.—PART OF A FORCE OF FOURTEEN THOUSAND ARABS WIDENING IRRIGATION CANAL ABOVE AFEJ UNDER BRITISH CONTROL

This extraordinary piece of work, done by Arabs levied in groups from various tribes, was under charge of Major Daly of Diwaniyah. The width of the canal was increased from 16 to 80 feet over a length of 7 miles. Before the British occupation these Arabs were more interested in intertribal fighting than anything else. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6772 by J. H. B.

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FIG. 9.—THE RAILWAY STATION OF ANCIENT BABYLON

Formerly called "Babylon Siding." The word "Siding" was erased in favor of "Halt," producing a palimpsest of which both stages are still quite clear. The railway passes through the walls and directly across the residence portion of the ancient city. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6789 by J. H. B.

cially Senkerah, Warkah, and Niffer, the scene of the work of the Philadelphia expedition.

By March 29 we had reached Ḥillah, six miles from the ruins of Babylon, accessible now by railway (Fig. 9). Here General Wauchope was very kind and finally took in Professor Luckenbill and myself as his guests. We spent nearly a week studying the ruins of Babylon (Figs. 10–13), left just as the German excavations had



FIG. 10.—FIELDS AND GROVES ONCE COVERED WITH HOUSES WITHIN THE WALLS OF ANCIENT BABYLON

The railway passes just out of range on the right. The mound in the background, commonly called *Babil*, is incorrectly identified by the Arabs with the traditional Tower of Babel. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7151 by D. D. L.

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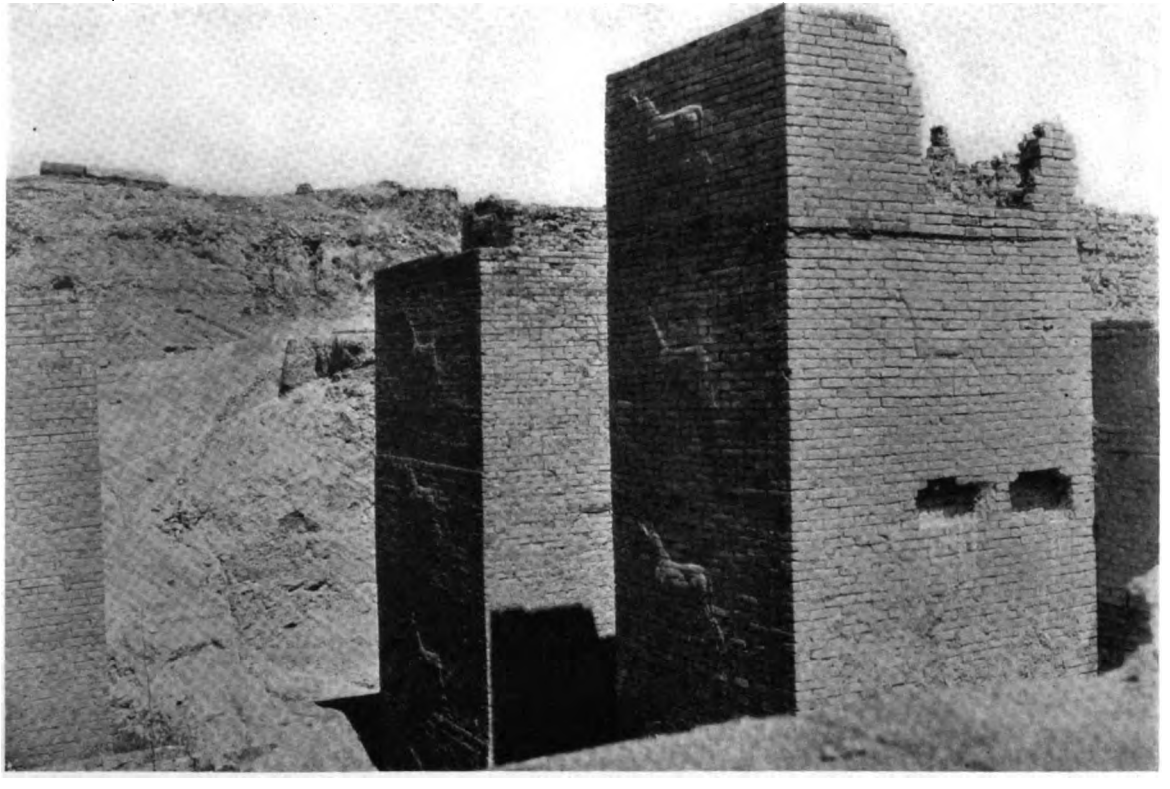


FIG. 11.—THE FRONT OF THE ISHTAR GATE IN ANCIENT BABYLON WITH DECORATION OF ANIMAL FIGURES IN RELIEFS OF GLAZED BRICK

Excavated by the German expedition under Professor Koldewey. Note in the background the high level of the accumulation of rubbish and the enormous body of material removed by the excavators. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6540 by D. D. L.

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FIG. 12.—THE ISHTAR GATE AND THE ADJACENT RUINS OF ANCIENT BABYLON

The gate is at the left; the highway in the middle foreground is the famous festival street of Aiburshâbu. The human figure in the center is standing on the pavement and the cross-section exposed immediately below him shows the great depth of the artificial filling as the level of the city rose. The discovery of the gate and the excavation of the place are the work of the German expedition under Professor Koldewey. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6541 by D. D. L.

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FIG. 13.—DRY BED OF THE ANCIENT COURSE OF THE EUPHRATES AT BABYLON

Natives on the left are walking in the bed of the stream near the piers of a Euphrates bridge built by King Nabonidus in the sixth century B.C., the oldest known bridge over a large stream. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6777 by J. H. B.

uncovered them, and made a great many photographs, copies, and plans. From Ḥillah we visited Nejef, the remarkable sacred city of the tomb of Ali (Figs. 14–15), Mohammed's son-in-law, which is forty miles south of Ḥillah, and until the British conquest, had been closed to non-Moslems with few exceptions. General Wauchope kindly accompanied us to the tower of Birs Nimrûd (Fig. 16) the highest ancient building surviving in Babylonia, and he was much interested



FIG. 14.—BODY CARRIER AT THE SACRED CITY OF NEJEF

The body, wrapped in reeds, lies across the pommel of the horseman's saddle. Such bodies are brought from great distances, even as far as Persia, to be buried in this holy city near the sacred tomb of Ali (Fig. 15), the son-in-law of Mohammed. The approach of these bodies is often quite evident long before they can be seen. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6799 by J. H. B.

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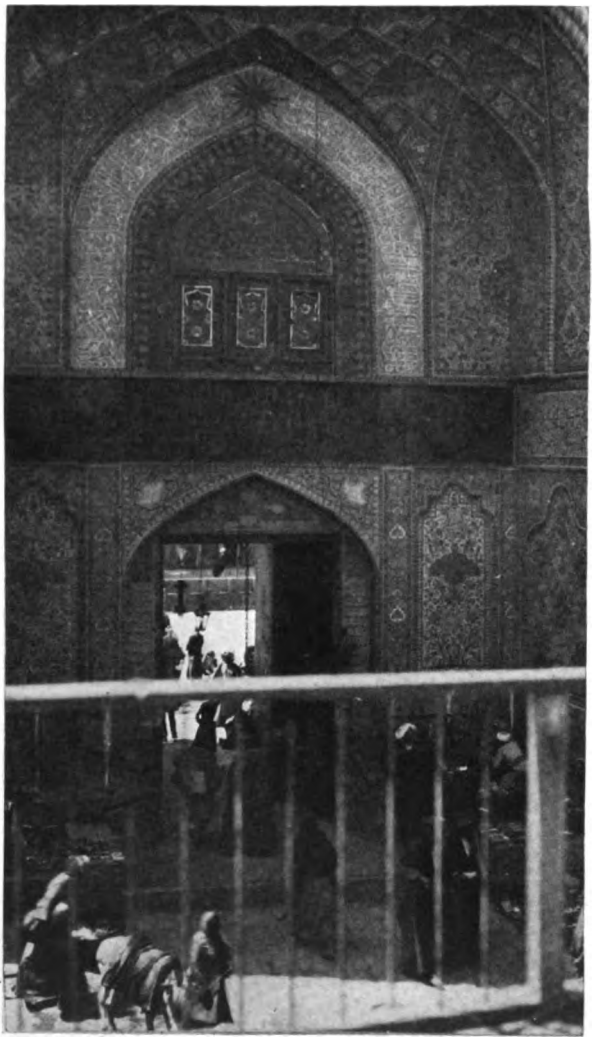


FIG. 15.—GORGEOUS INCRUSTATION OF GLAZED PLAQUES AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE TOMB MOSQUE OF ALI AT NEJEF

This holy shrine of the great majority of the eastern Mohammedans is nearly one hundred miles south of Baghdad on the margin of the Arabian desert. The Tomb of Ali is within, but the fanatical Moslems of the place, who were very hostile and had murdered the British resident not long before our coming, would not permit us to enter. This photograph was made from a loft over a little shop. The houses entirely prevent a photograph of the whole front. The bodies (Fig. 14) are all carried in at this door, are left for a time by the Tomb of Ali, and then removed for burial. Note the tradesmen and money-changers at the entrance and the peddlers hawking their wares in the interior. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7165 by D. D. L.

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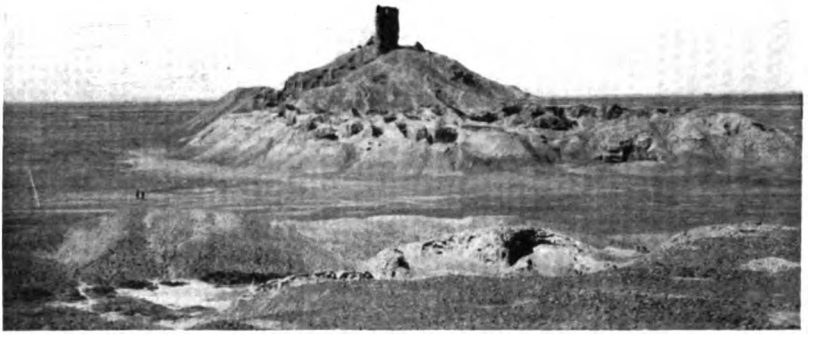


FIG. 16.—TEMPLE TOWER OF BIRS NIMRÛD, UPPER BABYLONIA

This ruin is the tallest ancient building surviving in Babylonia, but the rains and weather are rapidly undermining it and its fall is imminent. The place has never been thoroughly excavated. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7177 by D. D. L.

in seeing its threatening fall averted by the proper repairs around the base of the tower—a piece of salvage work which very much needs to be done. Before we left, General Wauchope invited a number of leading British officers from G.H.Q. in Baghdad to meet him in Babylon, and we had the pleasure of taking them through the ruins of the chief buildings. They were most interested in the Festival Street (Fig. 12), the paving of which, laid by Nebuchadnezzar, must often have been trodden by the feet of the Hebrew exiles whom this mighty king carried away from Jerusalem.

Still having with us our "goods van," carrying the outfit and provisions, we arrived in Baghdad on the evening of April 5. General (now Sir) Percy Hambro, the quartermaster general, kindly took me in as his guest, and the other members of the expedition were put up at the Hotel Maude. Finding that the railway north of Baghdad differs in gauge from the Baṣrah-Baghdad stretch, we therefore relinquished the "goods van" and stored our stuff at the officers' hostel. Besides visiting some neighboring ruins (Fig. 17), especially the marvelous palace hall at Ctesiphon, our time in Baghdad was largely spent in preparations for the trip up the Tigris across Assyria

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to Môṣul (Nineveh). Both Colonel A. T. Wilson, the civil commissioner, and General Hambro aided us without stint in all these preparations.

On April 12 all was in readiness for our northern journey up the Tigris, by rail to Shergât, something over 180 miles by train from

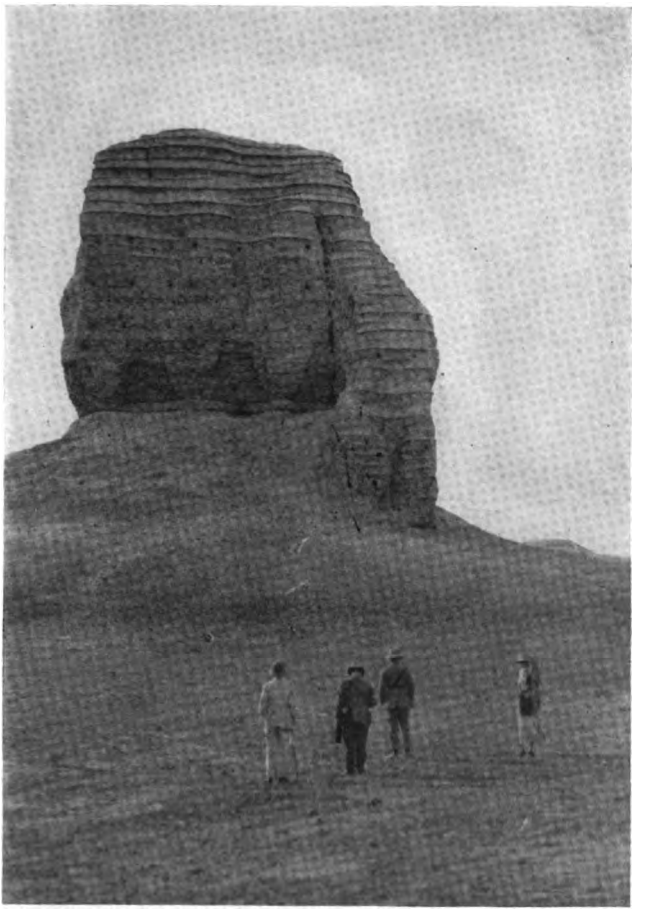


FIG. 17.—TEMPLE TOWER OF ʿAKERKÛF, UPPER BABYLONIA

Erected by the Cassites, the structure may have been built in the middle of the second millennium B.C. The curious horizontal striations are due to the projecting matting laid at intervals between the horizontal courses of sun-dried brick. The people in the foreground, from right to left, are the intrepid explorer and able orientalist, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell, now an influential member of the British administration in Mesopotamia; General Sir Percy Hambro, the quartermaster general, now in India; Professor Luckenbill; and Sir Hugh Bell. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6814 by J. H. B.

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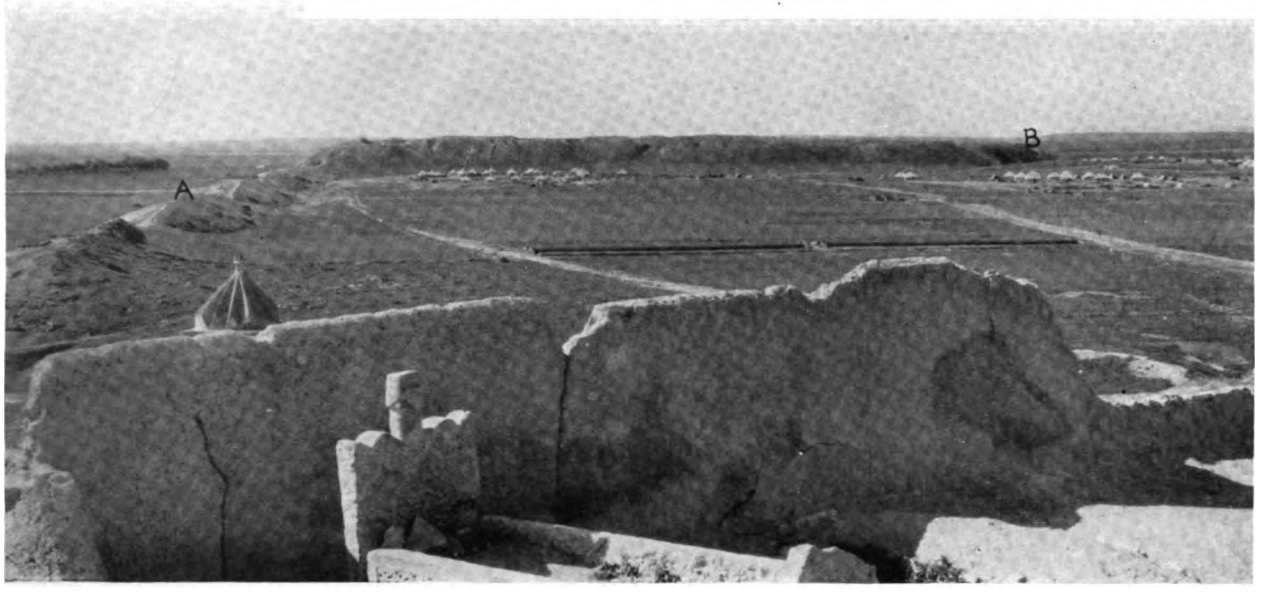



FIG. 18.—PALACE PLATFORM OF SENNACHERIB AND ASSURBANIPAL AT NINEVEH (SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.)

Seen from northwest corner of Nebi Yûnus (marked *C* in Fig. 19), looking north along west wall (at the left) of ancient city. The dry bed of the Tigris extends along the west (the left) of this wall. The tents are those of British East Indian troops encamped on the areas once occupied by ancient Ninevite houses. The modern graves in the foreground are immediately north of the tomb mosque of Nebi Yûnus on the palace platform of Esarhaddon. No modern scientific excavations have ever been carried on in this great imperial city. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6594 by D. D. L.

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FIG. 19.—VILLAGE OF NEBI YÛNUS ON PALACE PLATFORM OF ESARHADDON AT NINEVEH (SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.)

Seen from west wall of ancient city from the point marked *A* in Fig. 18, looking south. The tomb of a Christian bishop, identified by the Moslems as that of the prophet Jonah, occupies the mosque and gives the place its name, Nebi Yûnus ("Prophet Jonah"). The village and modern cemetery, extending over practically all of Esarhaddon's palace platform, are a serious obstacle to excavation. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6589 by D. D. L.

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Baghdad. Shergât is still the railhead and likely to remain so for a long time. We were put up here at a rest camp while we studied the remarkable ruins of Assur, the earliest capital of Assyria, founded at least as early as 3000 B.C. The place had been completely excavated by the Germans and their work, clearing the place from the latest ruins at the top down to the primitive rock, had been finished before the outbreak of the war. It is the only site in Western Asia east of Troy which has been so completely investigated and it proved extremely instructive.

Leaving Shergât by automobile on April 14, we made the run of some eighty miles northward up the west side of the Tigris, to Môṣul, where the commander, General Fraser, very kindly took me in and arranged for the other members of the expedition to be put up at a native hotel. We began at once the study of the ruins of Nineveh, the latest Assyrian capital (Figs. 18–20), lying across the Tigris directly opposite Môṣul. This kept us busy until an ebullition of the Kurds had settled down and we were permitted to run about fifteen miles northeast of Môṣul to the foothills close under the northern mountains to visit the ruins of Khorsâbâd, the royal residence of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), father of Sennacherib. The palace has entirely disappeared since the French excavations cleared it, but we found evidence that excavation would still be richly rewarded.

Crossing the river to the east side, we were also able to move down the Tigris some twenty miles below Môṣul, to another capital of Assyria, the biblical Calah, now called Nimrûd. The temple tower and the palaces here in spite of native vandalism (Fig. 22), are in an unusually good state of preservation. Many sculptures and inscribed records (Fig. 21) project from the incumbering rubbish, insuring magnificent returns for excavation, and a great opportunity for recovering and reconstructing an entire Assyrian city as well as a tremendous chapter of human history. We were accompanied in our inspection by the owner of the land on which these ruins stand, and accepted his invitation to dine at his house as we were returning to Môṣul. We found it was near the ruins of Balawât, an Assyrian palace of the ninth century B.C., which we also saw. It was from this palace that Rassam is reported to have taken out the massive

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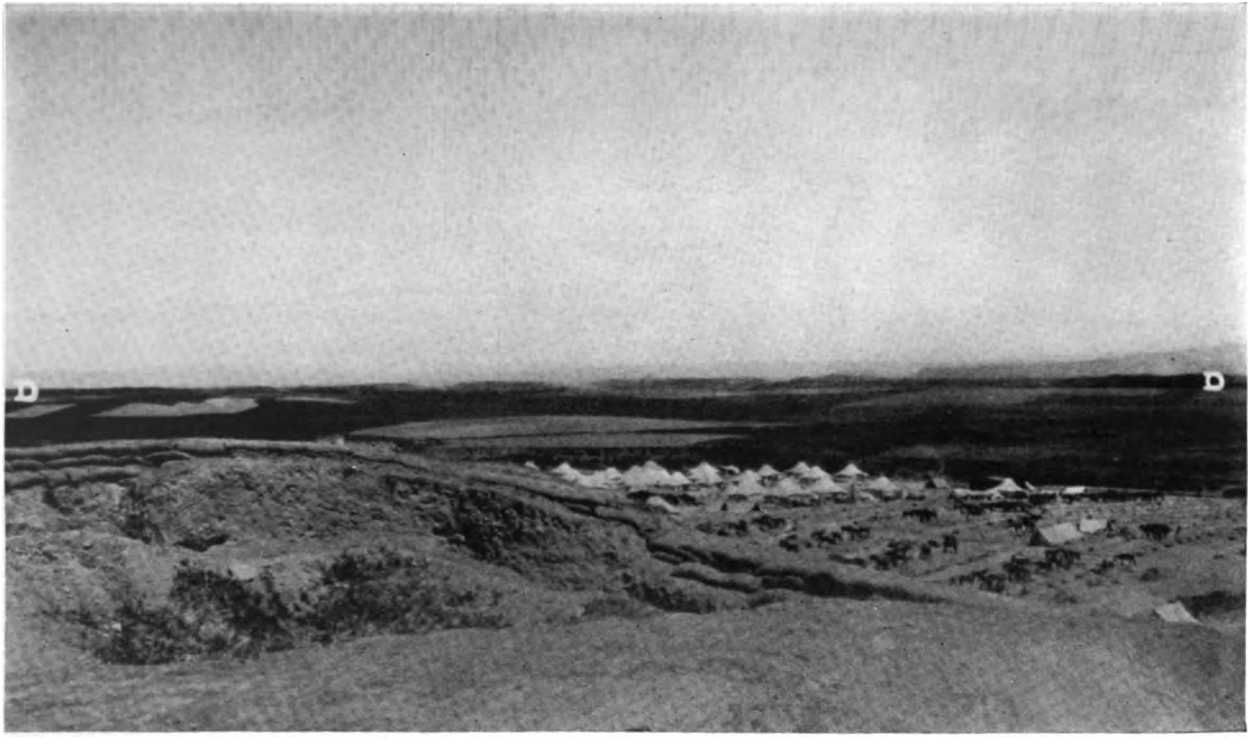



FIG. 20.—GRAIN FIELDS IN APRIL INSIDE THE WALLS OF ANCIENT NINEVEH

Seen from the northeast corner of the palace platform of Sennacherib and Assurbanipal (marked *B* in Fig. 18). Line *D–D* is the east and northeast wall of the ancient city; in foreground on corner of palace platform a modern machine-gun position with sandbags still in place; on the plain, camp of British Indian troops. On the skyline the mountains of western Persia, the region where Alexander the Great defeated the last of the Persian armies. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6584 by D. D. L.

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FIG. 21.—THE TEMPLE TOWER OF CALAH-NIMRÛD, ONE OF THE EARLIER CAPITALS OF ANCIENT ASSYRIA

Seen from one of the palace gates in the foreground looking north. The place has never been scientifically excavated. It is some twenty miles south of Nineveh, close to the Tigris. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6571 by D. D. L.

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bronze mountings of a palace gate richly adorned in *repoussé* designs. In so far as the writer knows, nothing has since been done there.

We had now ascended the Tigris about 275 miles above Baghdad, and some 625 miles from the Persian Gulf, to the region where it issues from the northern mountains. North of us was a Kurdish population quite unsafe to penetrate. Indeed the whole Môṣul



FIG. 22.—NATIVE VANDALISM AT THE TEMPLE TOWER OF CALAH-NIMRÛD

The masonry blocks spread out on the right slope of the mound were taken out of the cutting immediately on their left by the modern native owner of the land with the purpose of securing building material for his house. The destruction was stopped by the British. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6565 by D. D. L.

region was a hazardous one. A few days before our arrival a British officer was murdered close by the ruins of Assur. Of the fifteen political officers of the British administration, seven were murdered by natives, five before our arrival and two afterward. Such unsafe conditions have since been much improved. Our return to railhead at Shergât was delayed by a terrible cloud-burst storm which washed out the bridges. When we finally reached Shergât again on April 20 we found the railway broken in two places by the storm, while hostile Arabs had cut it in a third place. We were completely cut off from Baghdad and unable to reach it again until April 23.

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On returning to Baghdad the Civil Commissioner informed me of the discovery of a series of remarkable ancient wall paintings uncovered during the excavation of a machine-gun position in the enormous Roman stronghold of Ṣâliḥîyah (Fig. 26) occupied by the British as their farthest outpost on the upper Euphrates some three hundred miles above Baghdad. He asked me to go there at once and make a record of the paintings and a series of photographs, that they might not perish and be lost to modern knowledge. As the British authorities had thus far thought it unsafe to allow our expedition to go up the Euphrates more than at most a hundred miles because the region was still a fighting zone, I seized the opportunity with the greatest pleasure, but asked for a fortnight to be spent among the monuments on the Persian border first.

The civil Commissioner then stated that if we went to Persia first we would be too late to save the paintings, for the reason, then strictly confidential and known only to the High Command, that the British frontier on the upper Euphrates (toward Syria and Fayṣal's kingdom), was to be drawn in about a hundred miles farther down the river because of excessive difficulties in such a long line of transport communications. If we went to Persia first the paintings would by that time lie out a hundred miles beyond the British lines, and equally far in Arab territory, that is, they would be quite inaccessible on our return from Persia. It was evident that we should leave for the upper Euphrates at once.

I then asked the Civil Commissioner why it would not be possible, on completing our work at Ṣâliḥîyah, to proceed up the Euphrates, go on to Aleppo, and thus *return to the Mediterranean overland*, instead of coming back to Baghdad for the long return voyage via India and for the second time crossing the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. The region was infested with Arab bandits, the tribes were in constant turmoil, and no white men had crossed from Baghdad to the Mediterranean for many months. The Civil Commissioner therefore replied that there was of course great risk, but that the probabilities were in our favor, as the Arabs would be in a genial frame of mind as a result of having recovered so much of the Euphrates Valley. I then asked the Civil Commissioner to telegraph to Ṣâliḥîyah to Colonel Leachman, who had

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traversed the region several times in former years and had long been acquainted with the sheikhs of the tribes through which we would pass on our way to Aleppo, and to ask his opinion. Colonel Leachman replied the next morning, stating it was "probable" the Chicago expedition could get through. The Civil Commissioner then agreed to furnish two of the seven automobiles we needed, provided the



FIG. 23.—OUR SEVEN CARS NEAR THE EUPHRATES CROSSING AT FALLŪJAH (UPPER BABYLONIA) ON THE FIRST LAP FROM BAGHDAD TO THE MEDITERRANEAN

It was in this vicinity that the expedition was overtaken by darkness and obliged to spend the night in the open country among the same Bedouin who, a few weeks later, murdered Colonel Leachman. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7299 by D. D. L.

commander-in-chief in Mesopotamia, General Haldane, would give us permission to go, and the quartermaster-general, General Sir Percy Hambro, would furnish the other five cars. At a lunch with General Haldane I met both these gentlemen that same day, and secured their consent to furnish these automobiles and the needed permission as well.

On Wednesday morning, April 28, our seven automobiles crossed the Tigris and, swinging out of the southern suburbs of Baghdad, drove straight west (Fig. 23) on the first lap of the overland journey up the right (south or west) bank of the river. As the result of a broken bridge of boats at Fallūjah we were forced to undertake too long a journey for the first day, and, although it was planned that we

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FIG. 24.—THE FIELDS OF ʿÂNAH ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

This narrow fringe of vegetation, extending for several miles along the river at ʿÂnah and watered by the irrigation wheels seen in the foreground, is very exceptional. The alluvial flats between the banks of the Euphrates and the cliffs of the desert plateau are for the most part arid desert like the plateau above or disappear altogether. Compare Figure 30. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7332 by D. D. L.

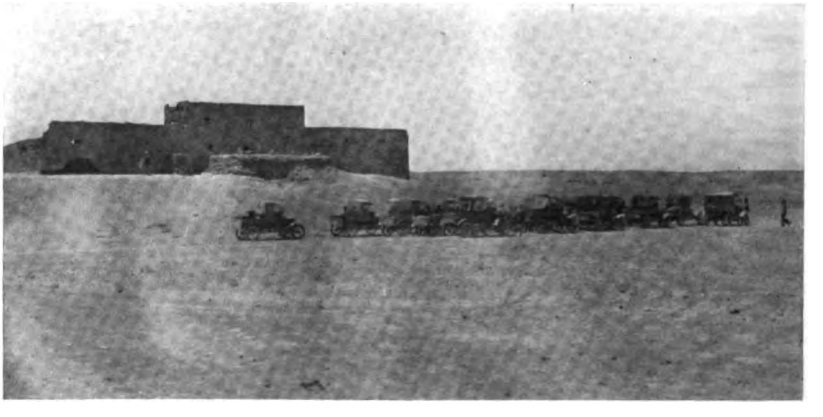


FIG. 25.—OUR ESCORT FROM ʿÂNAH TO ṢÂLIḤÎYAH AT THE GATE OF A KHAN ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

The Arabs on the north (left) shore of the Euphrates, whose turbulence has been notorious for centuries, were frequently firing across the river at the British transport where the road approached the stream, and on this last lap of the automobile journey, which extended from ʿÂnah to Ṣâliḥiyah, escort was necessary. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7335 by D. D. L.

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should arrive each night at a British post, we were obliged to stop short and spend our first night unprotected in the open desert with Beduin camp fires visible all about us. A night or two later the same mishap occurred again. The British officials showed great anxiety on our behalf, though we saw no signs of danger. A few weeks later, however, Colonel Leachman, above referred to, was murdered by



FIG. 26.—ONE OF THE GATES OF THE GREAT ROMAN FORTRESS AT ṢÂLIḤÎYAH ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

The fortress is on the right bank of the river, about thirty miles below the mouth of the Khabur. Its ancient name is uncertain. A machine-gun battery occupies the left tower of the gate. The figure at the extreme left is General Cunningham, commander of this uppermost British stronghold on the Euphrates, from which he withdrew a hundred miles down the river beginning on the day of our departure for the Mediterranean. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6853 by J. H. B.

the Arabs in the vicinity of the spot where we spent our first night in the open desert, near Fallûjah.

Accidents, breakages, and delays of desert travel were such that the three-hundred-mile trip to the British frontier occupied an entire week. The last day or two after leaving ʿÂnah (Fig. 24), we were convoyed, as we were passing points which were sometimes under Arab fire (Fig. 25). General Cunningham, in command at Ṣâliḥîyah (Fig. 26), received us most kindly, and as his quarters were entirely full, Colonel Leachman had us set up our field beds in his office! Every possible kindness was shown us by the British officers along the entire

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trip. General Cunningham sent Professor Luckenbill and myself for an air reconnoissance in one of his bombing planes, an experience which gave us exceedingly valuable impressions of the desert and the Euphrates Valley.

The British withdrawal from Ṣâliḥîyah down the Euphrates was expected at once, and this left us only the fourth of May on which



FIG. 27.—SANCTUARY CONTAINING THE WALL PAINTINGS IN THE GREAT ROMAN FORTRESS AT ṢÂLIḤÎYAH ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

The building occupied a corner of the fortress, dropping sheer to a dry *wadi* into which its walls have toppled over. The rubbish from the modern excavations shot over the face of the walls can be seen at the right, lying at the angle of rest. The most important of the paintings occupy the left end of a transept, the wall of which is formed by the highest part of the fortress in the background of this view. They date from the third century of the Christian Era. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7366 by D. D. L.

to make our records of the paintings. They occupied the walls of an ancient oriental sanctuary (Fig. 27) and proved to be of unusual interest and value.[1] The British officer in command of the post, Major Wright-Warren, placed a body of Indian troops (Fig. 28) under a sergeant at my disposal to shift sandbags in order to lift the cameras to the proper level, and also to make additional excavations that we might follow the ground plan of the building. Professor Luckenbill made twenty-four negatives of the paintings and the

[1] The publication of these unique documents will be found discussed in Section VIII, p. 327.

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ancient sanctuary containing them, the young men made a ground plan of the structure, while I spent the day in making as full notes as possible on the paintings and inscriptions. I then suggested to the Major that the Indian troops he had given us might be set to work covering the wall paintings with rubbish again and thus protecting them from destruction by the Arabs. He at once gave



FIG. 28.—BRITISH EAST INDIAN TROOPS EXCAVATING AT ṢÂLIḤÎYAH UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CHICAGO EXPEDITION

These East Indians were placed at the disposal of the Oriental Institute Expedition for the excavation of the ground plan and the clearance of an additional painted wall. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7368 by D. D. L.

orders that this be done, and before the British left they were again safely buried.

As the British were about to retire down the river and we were to continue our journey up the Euphrates, it was of course necessary to surrender our seven automobiles to General Cunningham. On the morning of May 5 we therefore shifted to five native wagons or *ʿarabânahs* (Fig. 29) and in these we drove northward out of the ancient fortress of Ṣâliḥîyah before dawn as the British were preparing to withdraw through the south gate. By the good offices of Colonel Leachman five Arab rifles of a neighboring friendly sheikh met us as we

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drove away and escorted us over no man's land into Arab territory. We thus left British and committed ourselves with much misgiving to Arab protection. In a few hours we were met by five other Arab horsemen, who were sent by the Arab government of King Fayṣal from Dêr ez-Zôr to meet us and relieve the local rifles who had first escorted us.



FIG. 29.—OUR DRIVERS AT ṢÂLIḤÎYAH ON THE SECOND LAP FROM BAGHDAD TO THE MEDITERRANEAN

The expedition shifted at Ṣâliḥiyah from its seven automobiles to five native wagons, or *ʿarabânahs*, two of which are seen above. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6895 by D. D. L.

The wagon journey (Figs. 30–40) from the British frontier up the Euphrates and thence across to Aleppo occupied a week. It was an anxious, rough, and difficult week. The Arabs showed the greatest friendliness toward us as Americans; had we not been Americans we would have stood little chance of coming through alive. We had much opportunity to meet the sheikhs (Figs. 33–35) and a deputation of officers of the Arab army called on me at Dêr ez-Zôr to send messages imploring assistance and advice from America. The seriousness with which they voiced their need of guidance and advice, and their earnest desire for assistance from America were very appealing. They were ready to give us all protection, and our chief danger lay in the roving bands of brigands infesting the country. Having passed through the numerous city mounds between Aleppo and the Euphrates (Fig. 40), we rode safely into Aleppo on May 12

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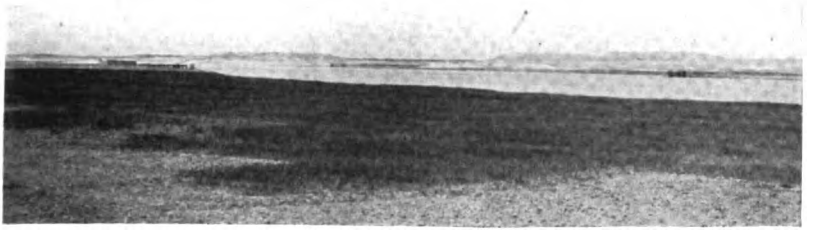


FIG. 30.—A TYPICAL EUPHRATES LANDSCAPE ABOVE ṢÂLIḤÎYAH

Showing how the cliffs of the desert plateau approach the river, leaving too narrow a margin for the support of an agricultural population. The irrigation waterwheels, of which one is seen on each shore, are very rare for the entire stretch from Hit to Meskenah. It is evident that this region never has supported a settled agricultural population large enough to develop a great nation or any degree of political power arising from so scanty a material basis. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7320 by D. D. L.

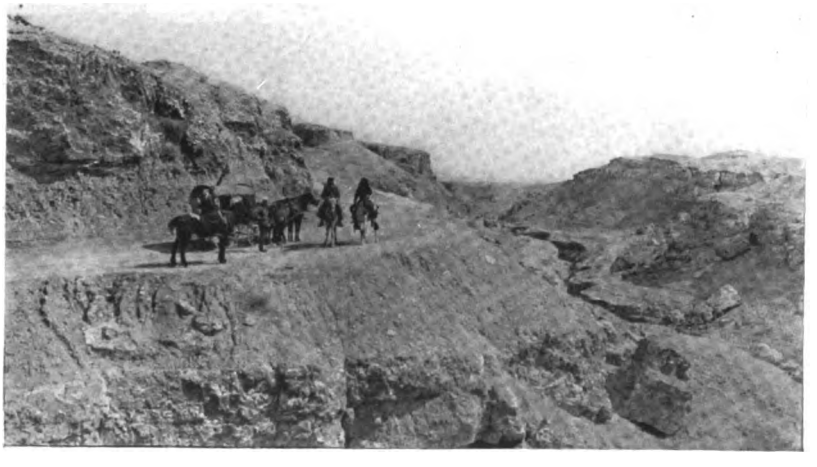


FIG. 31.—A WATERLESS "WADI" OF THE DESERT PLATEAU NEAR DÊR EZ-ZÔR ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

The waters which have eroded these *wadis* empty into the Euphrates. Such erosion valleys form serious obstacles in the course of the Euphrates' journey. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7405 by D. D. L.

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and thus an American expedition was the first group of white men or non-Moslems to cross the Arab state after its proclamation.

We had hoped that it would be possible to penetrate southeastern Asia Minor from Aleppo but found this unfortunately quite out of the question. The Arabs hovering on the flanks of the French threatened to cut the railway south from Aleppo, and we were

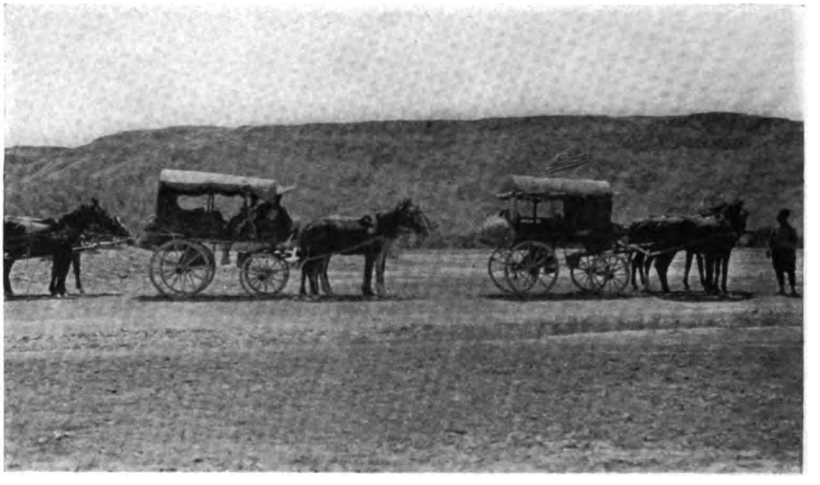


FIG. 32.—THE HEAD OF OUR WAGON CARAVAN AND THE CLIFFS OF THE EUPHRATES VALLEY ABOVE ṢÂLIḤÎYAH ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

The valley floor between the foot of the cliffs and the river margin (just behind the observer) is arid desert like the plateau above. This is typical of the Euphrates Valley between Hit and Meskenah. When the cliffs approached too closely to the waters' edge to permit passage it was necessary to ascend to the plateau, where the journey was often seriously delayed by *wadis* like Figure 31. Or. Inst. photo No. 7412 by D. D. L.

urged to leave for Beyrut as quickly as possible. The conditions throughout Syria were very unfavorable for carrying out the archaeological reconnoissance which we had hoped to make.

It was, however, very important that as we went south we should inspect the ruins of Kadesh and Baʿalbek, two leading points between the Lebanons. I secured a letter from the Arab governor of Aleppo to the local authorities in the Orontes Valley, who furnished us with escorts, and we were thus able, at considerable risk from the brigands north of Tripoli, to inspect the imposing city mound of

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ancient Kadesh on the Orontes (Fig. 41). The modern name of the place is Tell Nebi Mandûh, and its identity with ancient Kadesh, which I endeavored to demonstrate in my *Battle of Kadesh*, has been doubted by some scholars, notably by Petrie. Recent French excavations in the great mound have disclosed an Egyptian relief in stone in which Seti I is shown worshiping the local god, called in

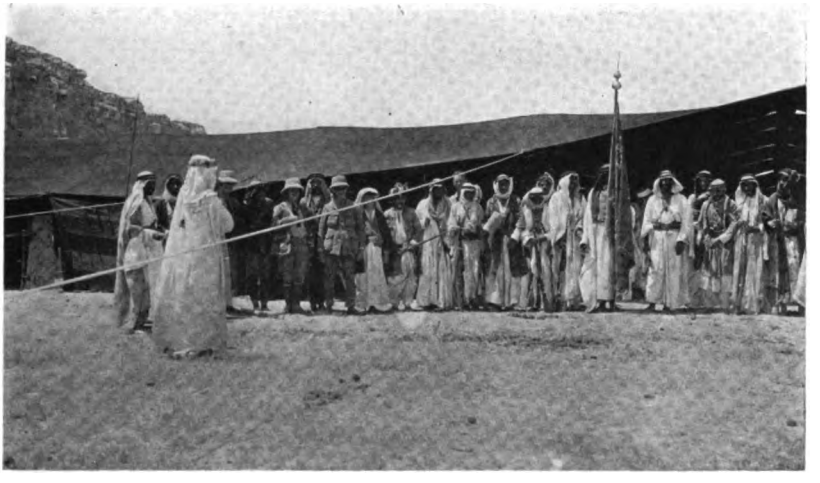


FIG. 33.—SHEIKH RAMAḌÂN-BEG IBN-SHALLÂSH AND A GROUP OF HIS TRIBESMEN OF THE ALBU-SARAI ABOVE DÊR EZ-ZÔR

The sheikh is the tall white figure at the left. He has turned away from the camera because of a disfigurement received in the Great War, part of his nose having been carried away by shrapnel. He is a shady character who at this time was receiving a subsidy from King Faysal and spending it on behalf of the Turkish Nationalists. Although he practically forced the writer to carry a confidential letter for him to Aleppo, he was most kind and hospitable and showed every kindness to the expedition in his great black *maḍif* (guest tent), visible here behind the people. Note the Euphrates cliffs at left. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7408 by D. D. L.

the inscription "lord of Kadesh." The identity of the place as ancient Kadesh is thus conclusively established. We also visited Baʿalbek. On the eighteenth of May we reached Beyrut.

Dr. H. H. Nelson, head of the history department at the American College in Beyrut, and a Doctor of the Department of Oriental Languages at Chicago, gave us a warm welcome and was of the greatest assistance to us in exploring the Phoenician coast (Fig. 42).

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The institution gave him complete freedom from duty so that he could accompany us everywhere, and he became temporarily a member of the expedition. In motor cars we went up the Phoenician coast northward from Beyrut as far as some twenty miles north of Tripoli, that is to the northern end of Lebanon, where we were stopped by the depredations of brigands.



FIG. 34.—SHEIKH ṢUWÂN OF THE SABKHA ARABS ABOVE DÊR EZ-ZÔR ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES

The sheikh is the second figure to the left. The head of a powerful group of Arabs, he made a very straightforward impression. He based great hopes on President Wilson and the fourteen points, knowledge of which had reached him even in this far-away Arab wilderness. His sturdy son, very proud of a new Mauser rifle, is the fourth figure. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7434 by D. D. L.

Going southward from Beyrut to reach Tyre and Sidon in the same way, I found the French authorities most friendly, as they had been notified of our coming, and they cordially responded to all requests for protection or assistance; but as we were about to leave Sidon and push on southward to Tyre, news came in that three men had just been shot by brigands a few miles out on this road, and the French commandant urged us to turn back. We were quite willing to comply.

At Sidon we were entertained at lunch by Dr. George A. Ford, of the American Mission, who showed us some examples of his extraordinary Phoenician collection—especially the sculptured sar-

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cophagi—which he wishes to dispose of for the benefit of his orphanage school. This is an opportunity to secure the best Phoenician collection ever made.

While the turbulent conditions limited the extent of our Phoenician survey very disappointingly, nevertheless we secured many archaeological and topographical data, and numerous photographs.



FIG. 35.—SHEIKH ṢUWÂN WRITES A LETTER TO HIS FAMILY WITH AN AMERICAN EVERSHARP PENCIL

He rode in the wagon with Professor Luckenbill and the writer from his home in Dibni for several days, intending to go to Aleppo, though he forsook us before we arrived. It was this journey which occasioned the foregoing letter to his family written with a borrowed American pencil. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6893 by J. H. B.

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FIG. 36.—CHALK CLIFFS OF THE UPPER EUPHRATES NEAR MESKENAH

The talus slopes and river terraces seen here have yet to be searched for the remains of prehistoric man, which there is every likelihood they contain. The country was unfortunately too unsafe for our expedition to undertake any such search. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7440 by D. D. L.

Besides a very satisfactory conference with M. Chamonard who was in charge of the French Service des Antiquités at Beyrut, I also had an interview with General Gouraud, the French high commissioner governing Syria. I am confident that any future archaeological work by our Oriental Institute in Syria will meet with cordial French support.



FIG. 37.—OUR HORSES BEING WATERED IN THE EUPHRATES FOR THE LAST TIME, ABOVE MESKENAH, TWO DAYS' JOURNEY FROM ALEPPO

Or. Inst. photo. No. 7441 by D. D. L.

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FIG. 38.—THE NOONDAY HALT ON THE UPPER EUPHRATES. HORSES AND DRIVERS EATING

Or. Inst. photo. No. 7455 by D. D. L.



FIG. 39.—OUR WAGONS AT A KHAN IN THE SYRIAN DESERT BETWEEN MESKENAH AND ALEPPO

Or. Inst. photo. No. 7456 by D. D. L.

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The journey by railway from Beyrut to Damascus was without incident, but our stay in Damascus was very profitable and interesting. A letter from Lord Allenby to King Fayṣal procured me an interview with the new Arab ruler, and I afterward dined with the King in company with the American consul. I learned much of value for our future relations with this region in the continuance of the work



FIG. 40.—A TYPICAL SYRIAN CITY MOUND BETWEEN ALEPPO AND THE EUPHRATES

These mounds, which dot the horizon in this region in every direction have never been touched by the excavator. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7457 by D. D. L.

of the Oriental Institute. Among these experiences was a session of the new Syrian Parliament, and an interesting conference with the president of this body who called on us at the hotel. Two members of King Fayṣal's cabinet are graduates of the American College at Beyrut, and besides these gentlemen we met a number of other educated Syrians who are members of the Parliament. We listened with the greatest interest to their debates as they discussed the successive paragraphs of their tentative constitution. They gave me a copy of their Declaration of Independence, the first such document I had ever seen in Arabic.

From Damascus we made the journey through Palestine by rail. The route was directly across a disaffected region south of the Sea of Galilee, where the peaceful memories it suggested were somewhat disturbed by the sight of a brigand hanging from a telegraph pole beside the railway line. From Ḥaifa we skirted by automobile the

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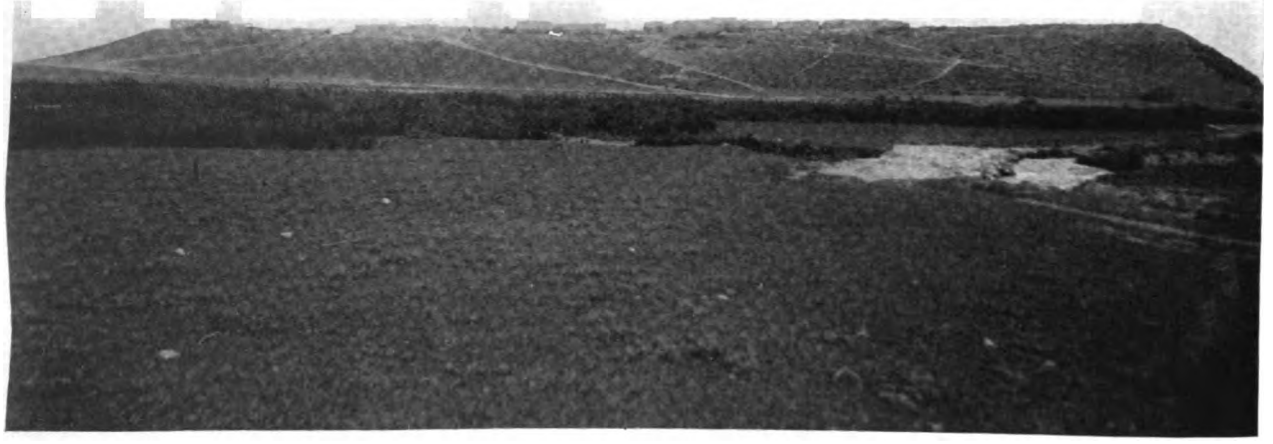


FIG. 41.—THE MASSIVE CITY MOUND OF ANCIENT KADESH ON THE ORONTES

The modern name of the mound is Tell Nebi Mandûh. Viewed from the east the buried citadel is, as usual in the Syrian mounds, at the north (right) end, which is noticeably higher. The river is visible in the foreground. Or. Inst. photo. No. 6678 by D. D. L.

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north side of the Plain of Megiddo, which was likewise rather unsafe. A stupid guide misled us so that we failed to reach Megiddo itself, although we could see the impressive mound a few miles away across the plain, and discerned what great opportunities for excavation still await the investigator there. We here had opportunity of studying the earliest great battlefield between Egypt and Asia—



FIG. 42.—THE EXPEDITION ON THE SYRIAN COAST

Or. Inst. photo No. 6874 by J. H. B.

the scene of so many dramatic struggles between the nations that it has become proverbial as *Armageddon*. It is of interest to note that although Lord Allenby's decisive victory in Palestine was won at this place, he refused to be called "Lord Allenby of Armageddon," but insisted, as he told me, on the less sensational and older form, Megiddo.

At Ḥaifa, Messrs. Luckenbill and Nelson turned back to Beyrut, for it had now become evident that our projected summer of exploration in Syria and Palestine would be quite impossible in view of the turbulent conditions. Professor Luckenbill busied himself at Beyrut developing our great body of photographic exposures, which it was not safe to subject to a sea voyage back to America before developing. With the remainder of the party I went on to Jerusalem. I had a series of valuable conferences at Jerusalem with the British authorities, especially with Sir Louis Bols, commander-in-chief of the British army in Palestine, Professor John Garstang, director of

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the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and Captain Ernest Mackay, then engaged in the official department for the conservation of the ancient monuments. But even around Jerusalem the country was so unsafe that it was impossible to go out and inspect a ruin as near as the mound of Jericho in the Jordan Valley, and practically visible from the Mount of Olives. We found that the ancient reputation of the road from Jerusalem to Jericho was richly deserved.

For the first time in my experience the journey from Jerusalem to Cairo was now possible by rail, following the line of march of armies between Africa and Asia for five thousand years. I went with General Waters-Taylor, head of the Intelligence Department of the Imperial Staff. This offered opportunity for spending a very agreeable day in conversation with one of the best-informed men in British service regarding Western Asia.

On my arrival in Cairo, Lord Allenby asked me to go to England to report to the British government the facts which had come under our observation in crossing the Arab state. Although I had already engaged passage to America via Naples to New York, Lord Allenby not only arranged to dispose of these tickets and secure me in their stead a passage to England on the same ship with Lady Allenby, then just returning to England for the summer, but also kindly invited me to join him and Lady Allenby on their special train to the ship at Port Said. Immediately on my arrival in England the Spa Conference called the Prime Minister away and I did not see him, but I reported in conferences with the other ministers, especially with the Foreign Minister, Lord Curzon, who was very cordial and to whom I wish to express a sense of our great obligation for the generous support given our expedition.

It ought to be mentioned here that it is impossible to gather *by purchase* in Western Asia collections of the wide range and remarkable volume possible in Egypt. To expand our Asiatic collections, therefore, excavation will be necessary. For this reason the facts regarding prices of labor, the season when labor is free to leave flocks and fields, the possibilities for disposing of excavated rubbish, and items of information essential to carrying on excavations at important points in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine were carefully collected.

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The question of personal and official relations with controlling authorities was also given careful attention. We made the acquaintance of many officials of England and France now permanently stationed in the Near Orient, and as far as the regulations have been formulated we learned the conditions under which future work of excavation may be carried on in territory now controlled by the two powers mentioned. The British civil commissioner at Baghdad, Colonel A. T. Wilson, assured me that an expedition of the University of Chicago which might desire to excavate in Mesopotamia would be cordially welcomed. At the same time Major Bowman, director of the Department of Education (since transferred to Palestine), and temporarily in charge of such matters, also showed me the greatest kindness and expressed hospitable purposes toward our work in the future. We also established connections with a number of sheikhs and natives of influence, whose assistance would be indispensable in undertaking field work in Mesopotamia.

Not least among the results of the Asiatic expedition was the acquaintance with the archaeological remains, the geography and topography of Western Asia gained by members of the expedition. This knowledge is reinforced by a large series of photographs and plentiful field notes. An extensive series of maps, plans, and diagrams exhibiting the geography, topography, and ethnology of Western Asia prepared by the British authorities has also been acquired.

The members of the expedition have all returned more deeply impressed than ever before with the fact that the Near East is a vast treasury of perishing human records, the recovery and study of which demand a comprehensive plan of attack as well organized and developed as the investigation of the skies by our impressive group of observatories, or of disease by our numerous laboratories of biology and medicine. The fast-perishing records demand a far-reaching attack directly on the mounds covering the ancient cities and cemeteries, whence the natives by illicit digging which destroys as much as it brings forth, commonly draw the antiquities which they offer for sale. Furthermore, any ancient city with its streets, buildings, walls, gates, water-works, drains, and sanitary arrangements is itself a fascinating and instructive record of human progress

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and achievement, which must be studied, surveyed, and recorded. In the same way the geology, botany, and zoölogy of the Near East must be investigated to reveal the character of the habitat and resources of the earliest civilized communities of men.

To accomplish this work there should be in the Near East headquarters an administrative center whose main object might be summarized thus:

The general administrative oversight and management of a group of local expeditions working among the remains of all the leading civilizations of the Near Orient, the regions surrounding the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, and extending far over into Asia, especially down to the Persian Gulf. The work of this headquarters must eventually be expanded into inner Asia, especially Persia, Armenia, and Turkestan. A *home staff*, like that of our Oriental Institute, could at the same time receive, classify, correlate, study, and publish the facts and sources discovered in the field in order to disclose and trace especially: (*a*) The earliest evidences of man in the geological ages and his rise from Stone Age savagery to civilization. (*b*) The development of the earliest civilized communities, especially in government, business, city-building, art, architecture, literature, and religion. (*c*) The penetration of barbarian Europe by oriental civilization and the transplanting of oriental civilization to Europe. (*d*) The culmination of oriental civilization in the lofty religious vision of the Hebrews and its supreme expression in the life of Jesus. (*e*) The later relations of the Orient with Europe, resulting in the conquest of Europe by Christianity, an oriental religion. (*f*) On the basis of the foregoing investigations, to produce a work on "The Origins and Early History of Civilization," which shall give the first adequate account of human beginnings and the early career of man.

The complete clearance of an ancient city like Assur by the Germans in a matter of little more than ten years (Fig. 43) furnishes us with a very instructive measuring rod by which to determine the length of time necessary for the investigation of the leading ancient sites in the Near East. As the writer has elsewhere said,[1]

[1] *University Record*, VI (1920), 256.

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it will be a number of centuries before the vast body of ruins surviving in Western Asia shall have been investigated "and the whole recoverable story . . . . is in our hands." Nevertheless the inspection of such a completely excavated site as Assur enables the writer to repeat his conviction "that with sufficient funds and an adequate personnel, it will be possible in the next twenty-five or thirty years,



FIG. 43.—GENERAL VIEW OF ASSUR, THE EARLIEST ASSYRIAN CAPITAL, COMPLETELY EXCAVATED IN TEN YEARS

The photograph is taken from the top of the temple tower looking southward along the west bank of the Tigris over a large part of the extent of the city. The hill in the foreground is covered with a modern cemetery. The German expedition began work here September 18, 1903, and finished its main clearance in December, 1913. A few unimportant supplementary clearances were afterward undertaken in the winter of 1913–14. Or. Inst. photo. No. 7195 by D. D. L.

or, let us say, within a generation, to clear up the *leading ancient cities* of Western Asia and to recover and preserve for future study the vast body of human records which they contain."

In Western Asia the number of centers which at different times furnished enduring leadership in culture and in political power within each civilization, is not large. The complete clearance of Assur in something over ten years is a record which makes the whole question a matter of arithmetic, for a single expedition properly manned and supported can complete the investigation of three important cultural centers like Assur in a generation. A special expedition for Nineveh itself could clear up this site within the same generation. Two or three expeditions, from the different countries, working simultaneously in Babylonia and clearing three sites to a generation, would easily dispose of the very limited number of important centers,

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for the Babylonian cities of the early period, or before Chaldean Babylon, are in point of size very insignificant.[1] It is unfortunately very unlikely that any expedition will undertake to complete the excavation of the city of Babylon, upon which the Germans spent nearly twenty years. The same generation devoted to the leading mounds of Syria, especially Kadesh (Fig. 41), could complete the investigation of the most important centers of culture in that region, not excepting Carchemish. In Asia Minor the same is true, and we already have a very adequate, though not exhaustive, investigation of the leading political center, the Hittite capital of Khatti, excavated by the Germans.

### II. PURCHASES, INSTALLATIONS, AND DIAGRAMS

A fair account of our purchases on this expedition would be possible only in the museum hall where the most important objects are installed, and such consideration of the exhibits there as would show how they have been built up out of various combined purchases. Pending the departure of the Divinity School from the Haskell Museum building (Fig. 44) it was necessary to instal nearly all the new purchases in a single hall (Fig. 46) where they are much congested. Only a few of the outstanding purchases can be mentioned, such as the following:

The most important purchase made in Egypt is a complete group of twenty-six painted limestone mortuary statuettes representing a deceased cemetery official and the members of his family, including, besides six portraits of himself and wife, some twenty of his servants and children. As shown in Figure 45 the deceased and his wife are seen in the six portraits ranged in the top row. In the next row beneath them is the orchestra consisting of three harps and a drum. Below the music an entire row is devoted to bread-making: in the middle is a model granary with its row of cylindrical grain-bins, each marked with the kind of grain it contains,

[1] The current statement that the excavation of Niffer will still consume "fifty years" may be quite true if the excavations are led by a staff no larger than that hitherto employed therein; but if it is attacked by a staff as large and a body of workmen as numerous as those employed at Assur, there is no reason why it should not be cleared up as expeditiously as Assur was. Quibell has stated that it will take five hundred years to excavate the great Memphite cemetery of Sakkara *at the present rate!* But the present rate is due to an absurdly inadequate appropriation of government funds. Given the money and the men, there is no reason why the rate should not be increased fifty fold.

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while on each side we see the grinders operating little hand mills, and the bakers sifting flour, or kneading and molding loaves. In the bottom row near the left end are a cook and a baker, the latter poking the fire in his little furnace. Next to the right are two butchers flaying a gazelle and an ox, and beside them (to the right) is the brewing of beer. At the right end is a group of two wrestlers,

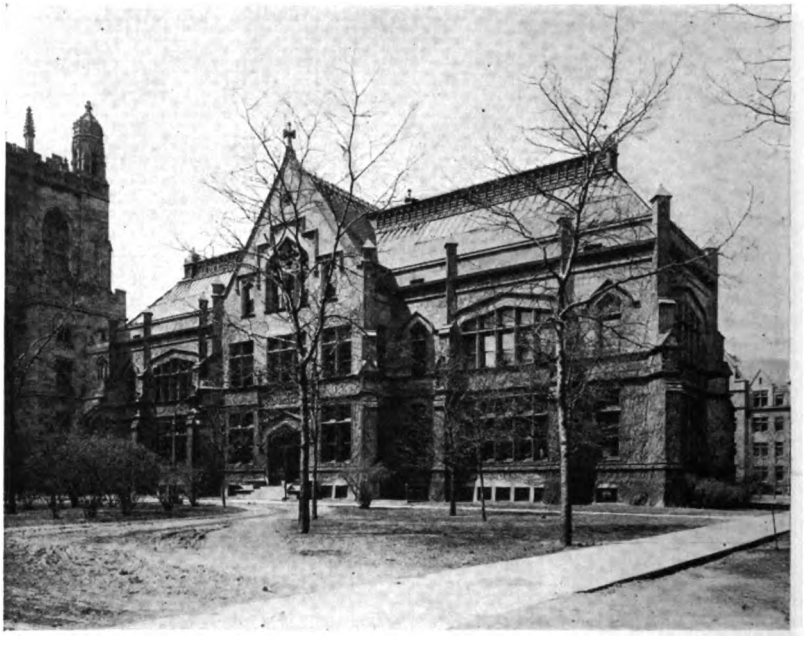


FIG. 44.—HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM, WHERE THE COLLECTIONS AND THE WORK OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE ARE HOUSED

and a bandy-legged dwarf with a bag over his shoulder, the household errand boy. Similarly at the left end of this bottom row are two craftsmen: one is a weazened, bony, little old man with ribs showing, who is making household pottery at a potter's wheel, while his companion is a little hunchbacked coppersmith and tinker, blowing the fire under his crucible with a blowpipe. It is evident that these two figures especially are portraits of actual members of the ancient household which this cemetery official of the Old Kingdom (about

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FIG. 45.—AN EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL'S HOUSEHOLD ABOUT THE TWENTY-SIXTH CENTURY B.C.
GROUP OF TWENTY-SIX STATUETTES OF PAINTED LIMESTONE,
THE EQUIPMENT OF A SINGLE TOMB

See the description in the accompanying account of Oriental Institute purchases (pp. 277 f.), No. 8020.

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FIG. 46.—COLLECTIONS OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.
I. GENERAL VIEW OF HALL

**The installations are temporary, awaiting expansion to the ground floor. No. 9139.**

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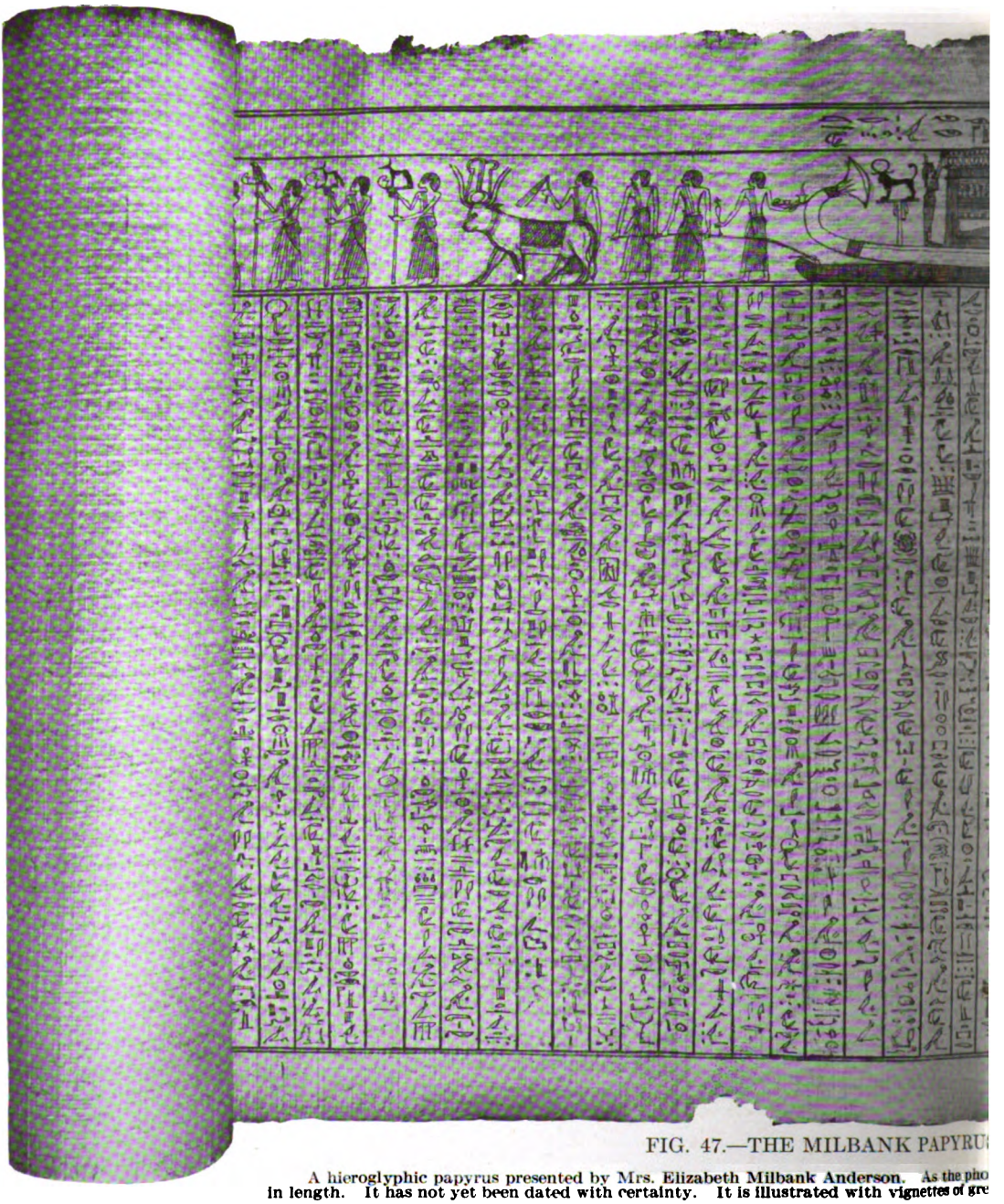


FIG. 47.—THE MILBANK PAPYRU

A hieroglyphic papyrus presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson. As the pho
in length. It has not yet been dated with certainty. It is illustrated with vignettes of gre

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OF THE "BOOK OF THE DEAD"

graph shows, the document is still in the form of a roll, which is probably some forty feet
delicacy and beauty, though not in colors.

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3000–2500 B.C.) desired to take with him at death to insure his comfort in the next world, at least 4,500 years ago. They form the most extensive group of such figures ever discovered in one tomb in the Pyramid Age (about 3000–2500 B.C.).

Besides these sculptures there is a group of royal seal cylinders including the official seal of Pharaoh Snefru, builder of the great pyramid of Dahshur; and another of the famous queen Ahmose-Nofretere, whose bronze toilet mirror is described below. A fine series of some seventy-five alabaster vases includes ten inscribed with the names of various kings and queens (Fig. 48, wall case on right). Indeed our purchases are noticeably strong in stoneware. We have a group of about one hundred and fifty predynastic and early dynastic hard stone vases and other similar vessels (Fig. 48, wall case on left). Several of the early examples are quite stately in size, and one is inscribed with the name of Pharaoh Aha-Menes, the first of the Pharaohs (about 3400 B.C.).

In a group of about a hundred bronzes (Fig. 49, wall case on right) we have some sixty-five statuettes of which a number are of unusual size and some of very beautiful workmanship; a seated figure of Amon is adorned with golden jewelry and bears an inscribed dedication of Queen Shepenupet (ninth century B.C.); two of the seated figures, a Sekhmet and an Imhotep, are of silver-bronze (*potin*). Among four mirrors one bears on the handle the name of the famous queen Ahmose-Nofretere, whose seal was mentioned above. One of a series of fine bronze battle-axes (Fig. 49, flat-top case) is that of an Egyptian army officer, with wooden handle and leather thong lashings still in perfect preservation since the Egyptian empire (1580 to twelfth century B.C.).

A notable acquisition is a beautifully written papyrus roll of the *Book of the Dead*, with black and white vignettes of unusual delicacy and refinement. It is probably of Saitic date, of the seventh or sixth century B.C., probably the best manuscript of this book as yet brought to America. It is the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Milbank Anderson, of Greenwich, Connecticut, and will be called in her honor "Papyrus Milbank" (Fig. 47). This manuscript is written in hieroglyphic and together with a hieratic copy from Paris (see Papyrus Ryerson mentioned above) gives us fine examples of both types of manuscript.

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FIG. 48.—COLLECTIONS OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE. III. SOUTHWEST CORNER OF HALL. TEMPORARY INSTALLATION

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FIG. 49.—COLLECTIONS OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.
II. SOUTHEAST CORNER OF HALL. TEMPORARY INSTALLATION

No. 9140.

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Among miscellaneous materials may be mentioned a series of four variegated glass bottles in blue, white, and yellow, representing the earliest stages of the glass-vessel industry (fourteenth century B.C., Fig. 49, left wall case); a group of some twenty-five sculptor's model studies in limestone; the official marriage announcement of Amenhotep III and his Queen Tiy, engraved on a large glazed scarab beetle (about 1400 B.C.); a group of some fifty glazed fayence statuettes and amulets; and especially the Timins Collection of stone weapons and implements (Fig. 49, flat-top case), a series of over sixty fine pieces, which together with a number of others found elsewhere, gives our Oriental Institute the leading collection of Egyptian Stone Age industries in America. Two interesting objects, perhaps found together, are a wooden statue of a Theban noble (date questionable, but probably 2300 to 2000 B.C., Fig. 46, back wall case) of about one-third life-size, standing leaning on a spear; and a life-size wooden chair inlaid with ivory and ebony (probably of later date, same case). Besides a handsomely painted mummiform coffin of the tenth century B.C. (Fig. 49), there are many historical documents in the form of statues, reliefs, and inscriptions on stone from the oldest period down to Greek times (Figs. 46, 48, 49), including also a series of 258 cuneiform tablets from Asia, but purchased in Cairo. Finally there is a large body of small objects for the study of Egyptian arts and crafts, making a considerable collection of the usual types.

Of our purchases in Western Asia one of the most important was a portion of the *Royal Annals of Sennacherib* (Fig. 50). In form the document is a six-sided prism of pale fawn-colored terra cotta, or baked clay, hard and firm and in perfect preservation. Six columns of beautifully written cuneiform fill the six faces of the prism, making a superb museum piece. In content it records the great campaigns of the famous Assyrian emperor, including the western expedition against Jerusalem on which he lost a great part of his army—a deliverance for the Hebrews which forms the supreme event in the life of the great statesman-prophet Isaiah. It is a variant duplicate of the Taylor Prism in the British Museum, but was seemingly written two years earlier under another eponym. The nature, extent, and value of the variants can only be determined

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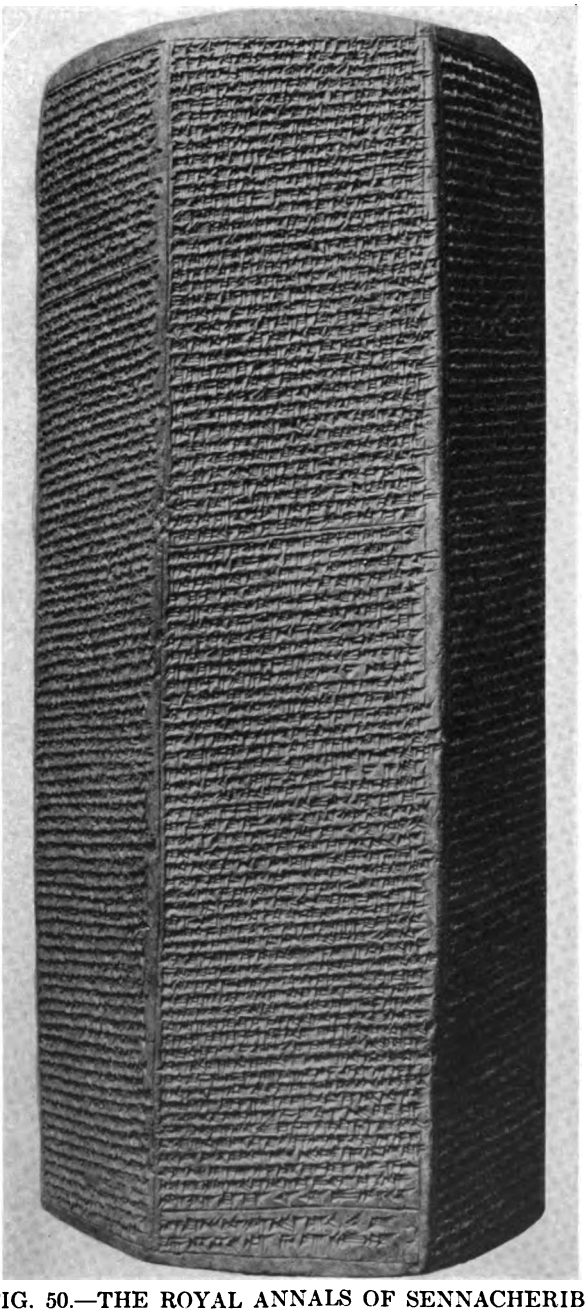


FIG. 50.—THE ROYAL ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB: SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

A hexagonal prism containing a cuneiform record of the western campaigns of Sennacherib, including the expedition against Palestine on which he lost his army, as narrated in the Old Testament.

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by an exhaustive comparison. Besides its scientific usefulness it forms an exhibit of primary value to our students and of unique interest to the public.

Of other cuneiform documents our purchases comprise nearly if not quite a thousand tablets of varying content (Fig. 48, flat top case), including some that are literary and grammatical. Among works of art, besides two early Babylonian statuettes of copper, we have a series of beautifully cut stone cylinder seals, of which the best is one of the finest examples of lapidary sculpture yet found in Babylonia.

While in Baghdad, I had accidentally learned of an ancient cuneiform record on gold which had been sent by a Baghdad owner to an obscure Paris dealer for sale. I took advantage of the journey to England therefore to run over to Paris for a few hours and succeeded with some difficulty in locating the piece. It is a small tablet of pure gold engraved on both sides with a cuneiform record of the restoration of the wall of Assur by Shalmaneser III (859–825 B.C.), accompanied by a summary of his great wars. It was presumably deposited under the portion of the city wall rebuilt by King Shalmaneser, but the modern dealer knew nothing of the place in which it had been found. Among the Paris purchases was also a group of cuneiform records on clay, including royal annals of the Chaldean age, and five very interesting tablets inscribed with archaic picture-writing, out of which the cuneiform grew up.

While the collections which the first expedition of the Institute has brought together are primarily for the purpose of furnishing research materials, it will be the endeavor of the Institute to use them also for visualizing the origins and the successive stages marking the progress of early culture as illustrated by its leading activities, especially such as writing, building, and the whole range of industries, or by customs such as burial practices. The presentation of ancient culture as a progressive process, may be largely accomplished by a chronological arrangement of the original monuments, both within each show case and from case to case (Figs. 45–49,) a plan not yet permanently practicable in our building until the Divinity School shall have shifted to its new quarters. It may also be done by modern restorations combined with originals (Fig. 51), by diagrams

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FIG. 51.—REPRODUCTION OF AN ARCHAIC EGYPTIAN BURIAL OF THE FIFTH MILLENNIUM B.C.

This predynastic grave has been built into an exhibition case by the Museum preparator. The body, found by Dr. George A. Reisner at Naga ed-Deir, was kindly donated by the excavator. The pottery and other objects are a gift by Professor W. M. F. Petrie from his excavations.

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(Fig. 52), or by a combination of all these methods, inserting case numbers in such a diagram as Figure 52. Where the original materials for illustrating a given sequence exhibit gaps, these gaps may be filled by the use of reproductions and drawings. In attempting a sequence of prehistoric industries we have had the generous co-operation of the National Museums of France for which we are very grateful (see Section VII, 4).

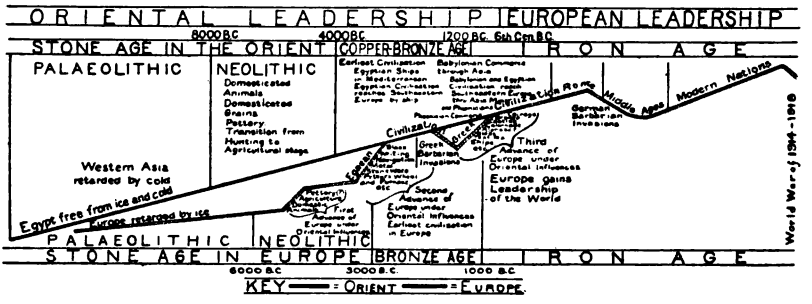



FIG. 52.—DIAGRAM VISUALIZING THE RISE OF CIVILIZATION IN THE ORIENT AND ITS TRANSITION THENCE INTO EUROPE

First published by the writer as part of the "William Ellery Hale Lectures" in the *Scientific Monthly*, March, 1920, page 267. It is proposed to produce a considerable number of such diagrams and to insert in them at the proper points the numbers of the Museum cases which illustrate the stage of civilization at the point in the diagram where the case number stands. Drawn on a large scale these diagrams will then be hung at appropriate places in the Museum halls. Combined with these there will also be chronological tables containing these same case numbers similarly distributed in the table.

### III. THE ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN DICTIONARY

Oriental science has made merely a beginning in the great task of recovering the story of the origins and early development of civilization among the ancient peoples of Western Asia. Nevertheless it is now evident to all thinking orientalists that the civilization of Europe was built up to no small extent on the basic civilized achievements of the peoples of this region. This is true not only because of the influence of Hebrew and Christian religion, but likewise in art, literature, government, society. It is especially true also in economic, business, and commercial life, which transmitted to Europe and eventually to us the fundamental processes and forms of business. It was especially the great commercial civilizations of Western Asia

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which first began the complicated task of devising the fundamental methods of doing business, and when they themselves had learned business system with all the various documents which make it possible, primitive Europe profited by their experience. These general facts emerge clearly enough from the vast masses of cuneiform records and documents in various languages, which we may now follow from Sumerian, Babylonian, and old Persian on the east, westward through Assyria and various western dialects, chiefly Semitic, in Syria and Palestine, to the so-called Hittite dialects of Asia Minor on the west, not to mention Vannic and other languages of the region on the north of Mesopotamia.

This situation demands not only carefully conducted field expeditions permanently organized, but also an organized attack on a number of large tasks indispensable to a proper understanding of the large body of cuneiform documents already available in the museums or in published form. While the memorable decipherment of cuneiform by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1850 enabled modern scholars for the first time to read Old Persian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and eventually other important languages of Western Asia, it did not, of course, meet the need for a comprehensive dictionary. To satisfy this need the pioneer students of cuneiform made praiseworthy efforts. Every investigator who accomplished anything of consequence gradually built up a personal dictionary, usually in the form of a card glossary, drawn from the documents as fast as he could read and understand them. In studying ancient documents which modern scholars are just beginning to read, the investigator inevitably meets new words which he does not understand. The majority of such obscure words fall into more or less specialized groups, like terms for diseases, medicines, bodily organs, minerals, plants, animals, social classes, legal processes, business and legal transactions, architectural forms, parts of buildings or of ships, and so on, besides many other words current even in general and common usage. The volume of documents quickly outran the ability of any one scholar to go through them and study the new words. Special glossaries appended to a newly published document or group of documents, word studies scattered through journals and monographs in half a dozen modern languages, while they have

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added greatly to modern knowledge, have made it increasingly difficult for the individual worker to bring all these new bodies of fact "under one hat." What has been even more serious in its consequences is the fact that in such a situation erroneous renderings, originally mere guesses, have become current, resulting in totally misleading translations for words and phrases with which the unsuspecting modern translator has considered himself familiar since university student days. Every thoughtful orientalist knows very well that he is involved in this difficult situation, whether he is translating Asiatic cuneiform or Egyptian hieroglyphic documents. Although aware of his predicament, the most conscientious investigator of these ancient documents is quite powerless single-handed to extricate himself. We have had a number of such individual efforts, all of them most praiseworthy, and deserving of the fullest recognition.

The earliest of these attempts to meet the needs of the pioneer Assyriologists for some kind of a dictionary are very interesting. As far back as 1855, as Dr. Maynard has mentioned to me, only five years after Rawlinson's announcement of his decipherment, the Frenchman, de Saulcy, published a little cuneiform glossary, covering nearly ninety pages, in the *Journal Asiatique*. It is entitled "Lexique de l'Inscription Assyrienne de Behistoun" and is printed in cuneiform type, then already available. In the year 1922, when the centenary of the foundation of the Société Asiatique is being celebrated, it is a great pleasure to commemorate this earliest of the cuneiform dictionaries, the work of a French scholar.

In 1866, about sixteen years after the decipherment by Rawlinson, Mr. Edwin Norris published what he called a "Specimen of an Assyrian Dictionary" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. It occupied thirty-two pages. Referring to this attempt the aged Norris says: "Many years must necessarily elapse before an approach can be made to completeness in such a work, and the best Assyrian decipherers are most assured of the vague character of their interpretations, whenever the subject goes much beyond plain narration, or whenever words of infrequent occurrence are made use of." A few weeks later Mr. Norris unexpectedly received an offer of funds for the publishing of his complete dictionary and, although he was a man of advanced age, he accepted the offer and proceeded with

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the work of editing and publication. The first volume was issued in 1868. In the Preface, Norris modestly quotes a statement which Max Mueller had included in the prospectus of his translation of the Vedic hymns: "With every year, with every month, new advances are made, and words and thoughts, which but lately seemed utterly unintelligible, receive an unexpected light from the ingenuity of European students. Fifty years hence I hope that my own translation may be antiquated and forgotten. No one can be more conscious of its short-comings than I am."

Norris' pioneer effort was never carried beyond the third volume, which was issued in 1872. It brought the work up to the letter "N"—1,068 pages. Meantime a useful little glossary of 139 words likewise had been published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for the year 1868. It was the work of one of the prominent pioneers of cuneiform decipherment, Mr. H. F. Talbot, which he modestly entitled "Contributions toward a Glossary of the Assyrian Language." The method by which these early dictionaries were compiled is indicated in an interesting remark by Mr Talbot: "I have been very careful to refer to passages in which the words are found, so as to enable anyone to verify their accuracy."

The enthusiasm of the heroic age of decipherment declined in England after the beginning of the 70's and the interest in dictionary enterprises waned. In the 80's it awoke in Germany, where in 1886 Strassmaier published an alphabetic list of Assyrian and Akkadian words. A much more ambitious work shortly followed in the *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* of Friedrich Delitzsch, which indicated in its title that it covered all the cuneiform literature available in published form. Delitzsch was unable single-handed to carry out and complete a work of this scope and before it had reached the end of *aleph*, the first letter of the Semitic alphabet, he abandoned the enterprise with the publication of the fourth part, making a total of 488 pages. In an abridged form Delitzsch succeeded in completing his dictionary in 1896, when it was published as his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*. In the twenty-six years since it appeared this dictionary has been of invaluable service to orientalists all over the world. It did not, however, cover all the available materials at the time of its appearance and in the twenty-six years since then a large body of new documents

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has been published. Special glossaries and supplements like Meissner's very useful *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern* have endeavored to furnish the needed consideration of the new documents. In 1905 Dr. Muss-Arnolt completed his useful *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, which had begun to appear as early as 1891.

This discussion of the need of an Assyrian dictionary makes no pretense to do anything more than call attention to the fundamental fact that all of the attempts to produce such a dictionary have heretofore been really the effort of one man. That is, each such dictionary has been a "one-man job," in which the solitary editor has, so far as the present writer knows, made no effort to apply or introduce mechanical helps of any sort. A list of the outstanding lexicographical compilations at present available will be found in the footnote below.[1]

All honor to the tireless devotion of the men who produced these invaluable tools without which our present knowledge of the early civilizations of Western Asia would have been impossible! Delitzsch's *Handwörterbuch* will long continue to be indispensable on the table of every orientalist, and with its predecessors and supplements will always remain an impressive monument to the scholarship and devotion of the great orientalists whom we gratefully revere as their authors.

The remarkable advance in the method and technique of dictionary-writing during the last generation, however, lays a new

[1] F. De Saulcy, "Lexique de l'Inscription Assyrienne de Behistoun," *Journal Asiatique*, 5 ème Ser., Tome V, 1855, pp. 109–97; Edwin Norris, "Specimen of an Assyrian Dictionary," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1866, pp. 225–56; H. F. Talbot, "Contributions towards a Glossary of the Assyrian Language," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1868, pp. 1–64; Edwin Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, Part I (1868), Part II (1870), Part III (1872); J. N. Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der Assyrischen und Akkadischen Wörter*, 1886; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur Gesammten bisher Veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur*, Lieferung I–III, 1887–90; Rudolph E. Brünnow, *A Classified List*, 1889, *Indices*, 1897; Charles Fossey, *Contribution au Dictionnaire Sumérien-Assyrien*, 1907; Bruno Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*, 1910; W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, 1894–1905; Frederich Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, 1896; Bruno Meissner, *Supplement zu den Assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, 1898; Knut Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, 1902, and *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914; Antonius Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914; Carl Bezold, *Historische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, Zettelproben des Babylonisch-assyrischen Wörterbuchs der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1915, and "Babylonisch-Assyrisch alâku 'gehen,'" *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1920, 16. Abh.

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obligation upon the shoulders of this generation of orientalists. Such a monumental dictionary enterprise as the great Murray dictionary of the English language, at Oxford, has contributed to demonstrate more and more conclusively that all dictionaries must be written on the basis of a fundamental principle long casually recognized and sporadically employed by students of language.

As far back as the year 1857 the (British) Philological Society passed a resolution to compile a new English dictionary which should "begin at the beginning and extract anew typical quotations for the use of words from all the great English writers of all ages. . . . . Several hundred readers accordingly entered on the task of selecting and transcribing these quotations . . . . till upwards of two million quotations had been amassed." By 1881 about three and one-half millions of quotations were on hand. The editors determined to illustrate the growth and development of the English language "by a series of quotations ranging from the first known occurrence of the word to the latest."[1]

It will be seen from these statements of the method adopted by the editor and his collaborators that the meanings of all English words were to be determined by usage as a matter of history. It was recognized that both in form and meaning each word in the language had a history and sometimes a very long history, at least long for English, so that the meaning in one century might diverge noticeably from that in another. The meaning in each case was to be derived from the context, necessitating the collection of "quotations." The word was to be judged and appraised in every case from a study of the context. This method is clearly set forth in a further statement of the editor: "To a great extent the explanations of the meanings have been framed anew upon a study of all the quotations for each word collected for this work, of which those printed form only a small part."[2]

The decisive value of the context recognized by the distinguished editor of the Oxford dictionary determines the method of work and is really erected into a principle. While no editor, in recognizing

[1] A new English Dictionary edited by James A. H. Murray. Oxford, 1884. Volume I. Preface dated 1883, pp. iii ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. xxxi.

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the value of this principle, will ignore the usefulness of other sources of light, it has become increasingly evident that in the case of an ancient language the editor of a dictionary must have before him *every occurrence of the word in the extant documents, together with its context,* before discussing its meaning. In compiling the dictionary of an ancient language, then, it will not suffice to refer to every

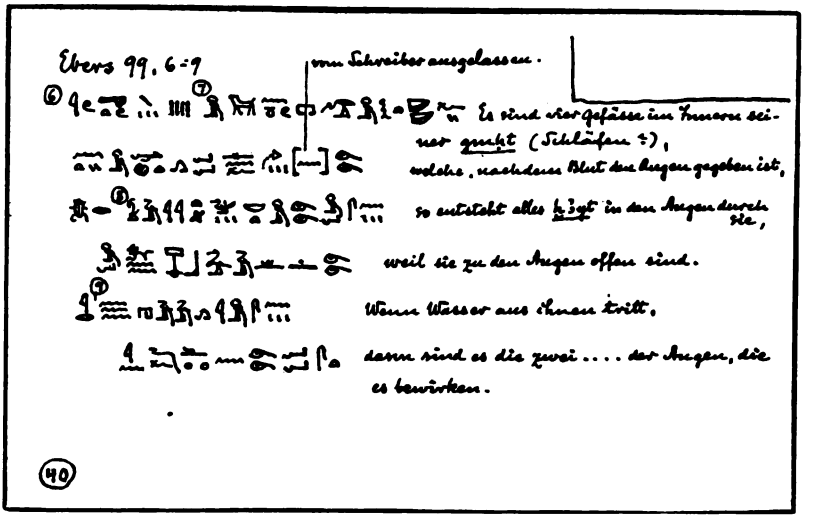


FIG. 53.—EGYPTIAN DICTIONARY CARD BEFORE BEING MARKED BY THE EDITOR FOR FILING

The paragraph of original text is at the left, the translation at the right. In the upper right-hand corner is the blank for editorial insertion of the cue word. These cards are 11×17 cm. (about 4¼×7¾ inches).

passage in which a given word occurs, by mere citation of "chapter and verse"; *the practical procedure must include the filing, not only of every occurrence of every word, but with it in every case likewise the accompanying context.*

The new Egyptian dictionary, in which an international group of scholars has co-operated for a quarter of a century under the general editorship of Adolf Erman, has from the first employed this system, which is best illustrated by the accompanying reproductions of the cards (Figs. 53 and 54). It was possible for the editor of the

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Oxford dictionary to enlist the aid of hundreds of collaborators in excerpting the quotations from documents in the English language. This is, of course, not possible in the case of an ancient language like Egyptian or Assyrian. The Egyptian dictionary had to be made an international enterprise which included in its list of collaborators, orientalists of England, France, Denmark, Holland,

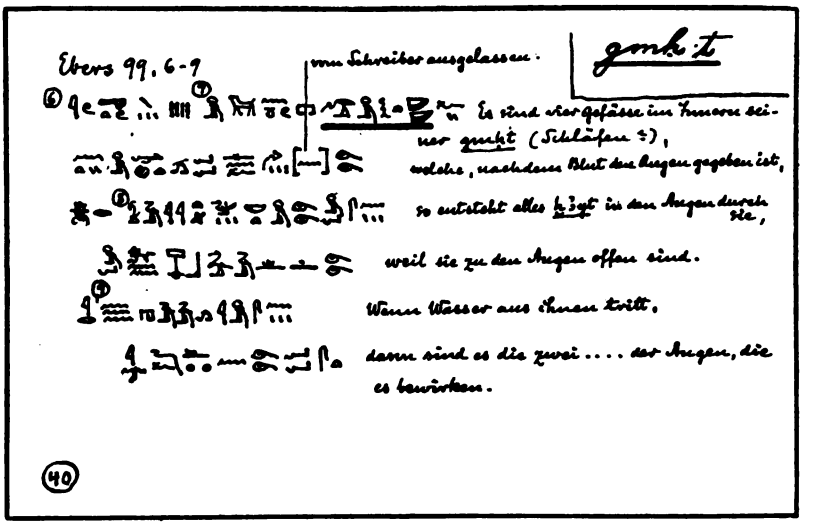



FIG. 54.—EGYPTIAN DICTIONARY CARD AFTER BEING MARKED BY THE EDITOR FOR FILING

The editor has underscored the fifth word in the top line of the original text. He has likewise inserted a transliteration of this word in the blank space provided for it in the upper right-hand corner (see Fig. 53). The card is now ready for filing, its place in the alphabetical files being determined by this cue word. A similar card is filed for each word in the paragraph of original text.

Switzerland, and America. In preparing a given Egyptian document for use in this dictionary the collaborator divides the document into coherent paragraphs, each of not more than thirty to forty words. Each paragraph is then written out by the collaborator on a card of prepared form and arrangement, so that the original text of the paragraph occupies the left-hand half of the card. In so doing the text is divided into sentences, and the translation, placed on the right-hand half of the card, corresponds sentence for

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sentence with the original. The collaborator writes this card with lithographic ink, so that it may be manifolded by the printer in facsimile, the printer furnishing as many copies of the card as there are words in the paragraph and a few more for use in case of accident, making, let us say, forty cards such as the reader sees in Figure 53. Taking these forty cards, the editor underscores the first word of the paragraph and inserts that word also in the blank in the upper right-hand corner left for this purpose. This insertion in the blank is done in a transliteration in Latin letters, as will be seen in Figure 54. It is the cue word under which the card is alphabetically filed. This same process is then carried out for the second, for the third, for the fourth, and for all the remaining words of the paragraph (Fig. 54 shows fifth word underscored) with the result that every word in the paragraph is eventually filed, together with its context. It will be seen that a word at the beginning of the paragraph or at the end may lack the preceding or following context. A translation of this context or an indication of its purport is therefore inserted both before and after the paragraph by the collaborator before the card is manifolded. When the filing is completed and all the documents of the language have been thus incorporated into the alphabetically organized materials, the final editing of the work and the writing of the articles on the successive words may be undertaken. The editor will then have before him every occurrence of a given word, from the Pyramid age reaching back to 3000 B.C., down to the Christian Era—a period of over 3,000 years. In its successive meanings, as these developed from century to century, and in its modified forms resulting from centuries of linguistic change, the history of the word, exhibited in all its known examples, will thus enable the editor to write as final and decisive an article concerning the word as the surviving materials of the language will permit.

The plans of the Oriental Institute for an Assyrian-Babylonian dictionary have been built up on the basis of past experience as accumulated especially in the compilation of the two dictionaries mentioned. It was evident in making these plans that the work of a single devoted scholar, such as has produced the Assyrian dictionaries of the past, must be expanded and carried on by a permanent

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office staff, assisted by a group of outside collaborators. This entire personnel must furthermore be supplemented by a complete mechanical equipment, especially for manifolding and filing, so as to reduce the clerical and manual labor to a minimum. Professor D. D. Luckenbill, Assyriologist of the University of Chicago and of the Oriental Institute, was appointed to take full charge of the entire dictionary project, and as his chief assistant, Dr. John H. Maynard, was made Secretary of the Assyrian Dictionary Staff. To assist these gentlemen two orientalists, graduate students of the Department of Oriental Languages, and a stenographer formerly on the Oriental Institute Staff were permanently assigned to the work of the dictionary, making a resident staff of five people. As non-resident collaborators the Oriental Institute has been fortunate in securing the co-operation of Professor Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan, Professor S. A. B. Mercer, of Western Theological Seminary, and Professor Theophile J. Meek, of Bryn Mawr College. It is perhaps worthy of mention that, with the exception of Professor Mercer, who has a European degree, all of the dictionary staff, resident and non-resident, are Doctors or students of the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of Chicago.

The unavoidable delay in the building plans of the University has resulted in such congestion in Haskell Oriental Museum, that it proved necessary to instal the dictionary work in the basement of the building. Here a commodious office has been built in, fitted with light, heat, and ventilation and properly equipped (see Figs. 58 and 59). The system of work which has been developed under Professor Luckenbill's direction since October 1, 1921, is now functioning efficiently and rapidly. As in the case of the Egyptian dictionary described above, the new Assyrian dictionary is planned to incorporate into its files, for the first time in such an enterprise, all the cuneiform documents now available.[1] In preparing this material for the files, the resident staff has thus far furnished the bulk of the cards, making a large nucleus, and developing all the

[1] For the present no systematic effort will be made to include the Sumerian or any other non-Semitic languages written in cuneiform.

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details of the system on the basis of which, and in conformity with which, the collaborators will be able to carry on their work with accuracy and precision from the start. As in the Egyptian dictionary each document is divided into a series of paragraphs, containing, in the case of the cuneiform documents, not more than fifty words. When the document has been so arranged and each paragraph has been supplied with a careful translation, the pages or sheets containing this material are mounted in a "Line-a-Time" rack, in which the marker clearly indicates to the operator the successive lines to be copied. At this point the Assyrian dictionary enjoys a great advantage over the Egyptian: the Egyptian hieroglyphic had to be hand copied, whereas a transliteration into Latin letters is sufficient for the Assyrian, without reproducing the signs of the cuneiform original. Special type shuttles have been cut by the Hammond Typewriter Company furnishing all the signs and diacritically marked letters needed for full transliteration of the cuneiform. It is thus possible to write the copy for the Assyrian dictionary cards on the typewriter. These typewriters (marked *F*) are shown in Figure 58 together with the "Line-a-Time" racks (marked *G*).

This typewriter copying is done for the Assyrian dictionary on a form of card designed by Professor Luckenbill. It is much more elaborate than that employed for the Egyptian dictionary, as will be seen in Figure 55. These cards, as shown in Figure 55, are furnished by the printer. Student members of the staff receive the paragraphed translations and transfer them by typewriter to these cards. In general the arrangement of the material on the card is like that employed in the Egyptian dictionary explained above. The cuneiform transliteration is written at the left and the corresponding translation at the right (Fig. 56). The ink ribbon used is specially prepared for manifolding purposes. The copyists then hand in their finished cards for careful proofreading, in order to avoid all clerical errors in copying. After this proofreading each card is ready for manifolding. This is done with a duplicator, which furnishes errorless, because mechanically produced, copies (Fig. 56) of the original card as made on the typewriter. The duplicator and the piles of cards will be seen marked *H* and *I* in Figure 58.

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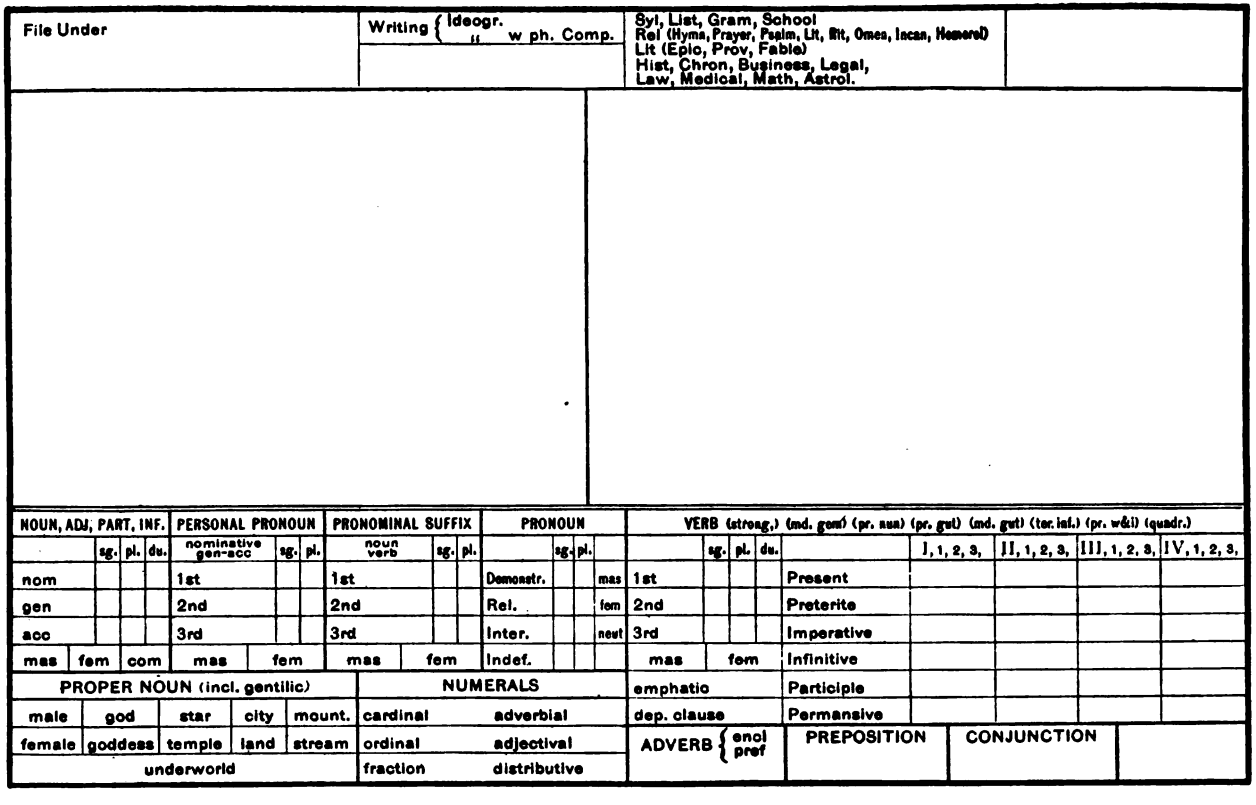



FIG. 55.—BLANK CARD FORM DEVISED FOR THE ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN DICTIONARY BY PROFESSOR LUCKENBILL

This card is furnished by the printer as seen above. It measures 5×8 inches, a standard size for use in current filing drawers.

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| File Under | Writing { Ideogr. " w ph. Comp. | Syl, List, Gram, School<br>Rel (Hymn, Prayer, Psalm, Lit, Rit, Omen, Incan, Homerol)<br>Lit (Epic, Prov, Fable)<br>Hist, Chron, Business, Legal Assyr. Code<br>Law, Medical, Math, Astrol. | KAV. I, COL. III. |
|---|---|---|---|

2123

(24 Cont'd)

63) us-bu-tu-u-hi i-[di]
64) 3 a-te i-id-da-an
65) ù šum-ma it-te-ki-e-ir
66) la-a i-di-e-ma i-ka-ab-bi
67) a-na r i-id il-lu-u-ku
68) ù šum-ma amêlu ša aššat(at) amêli
69) i-na bîti-šu us-bu-tu-u-ni
70) i-na r i-id it-tu-u-ra
71) 3 a-te i-id-da-an
72) šum-ma amêlu ša aššat-su i-na pa-ni-šu

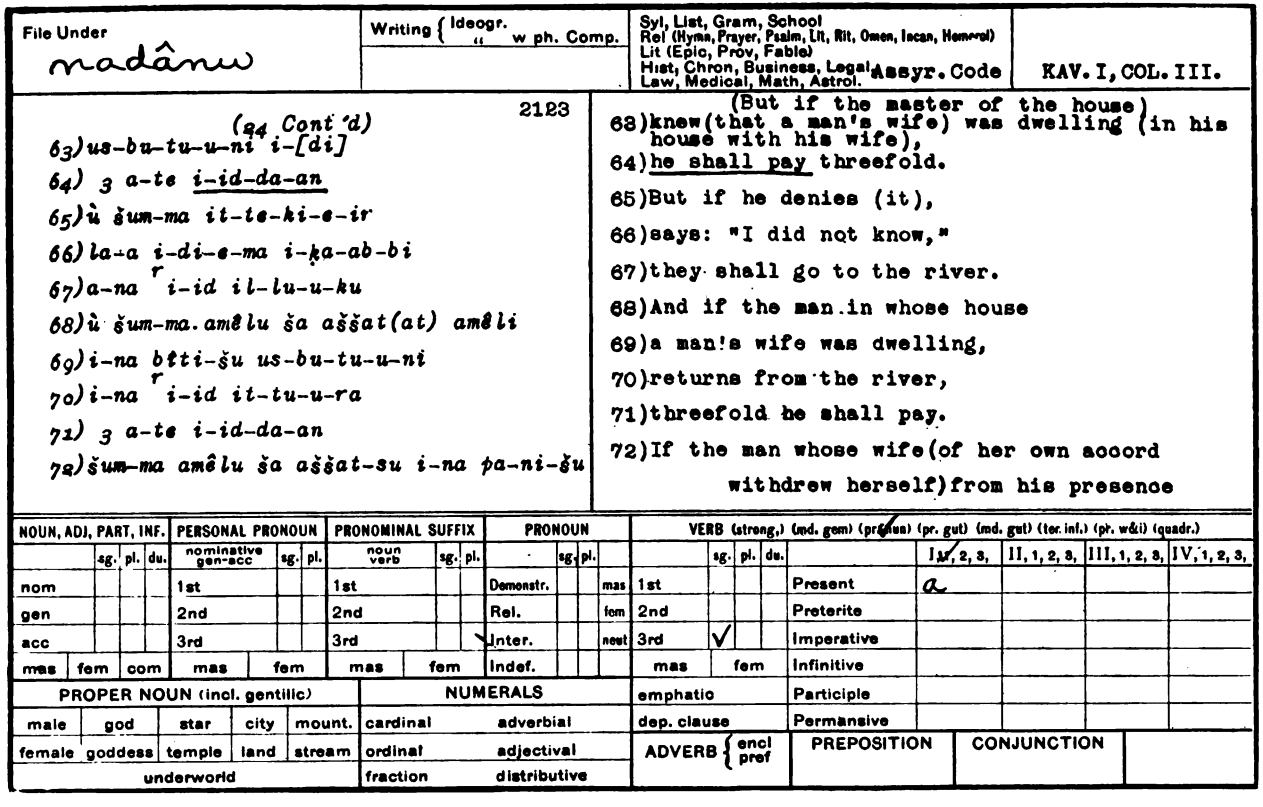
(But if the master of the house)
63) knew (that a man's wife) was dwelling (in his house with his wife),
64) he shall pay threefold.
65) But if he denies (it),
66) says: "I did not know",
67) they shall go to the river.
68) And if the man in whose house
69) a man's wife was dwelling,
70) returns from the river,
71) threefold he shall pay.
72) If the man whose wife (of her own accord withdrew herself) from his presence

| NOUN, ADJ, PART, INF. | | | | PERSONAL PRONOUN | | | | PRONOMINAL SUFFIX | | | | PRONOUN | | | | VERB (strong,) (md. gem) (pr. nun) (pr. gut) (md. gut) (ter. inf.) (pr. w&i) (quadr.) | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sg. | pl. | du. | nominative gen-acc | sg. | pl. | | noun verb | sg. | pl. | | | sg. | pl. | | | sg. | pl. | du. | | I, 1, 2, 3, | II, 1, 2, 3, | III, 1, 2, 3, | IV, 1, 2, 3, |
| nom | | | | 1st | | | | 1st | | | | Demonstr. | | | mas | 1st | | | | Present | | | | |
| gen | | | | 2nd | | | | 2nd | | | | Rel. | | | fem | 2nd | | | | Preterite | | | | |
| acc | | | | 3rd | | | | 3rd | | | | Inter. | | | neut | 3rd | | | | Imperative | | | | |
| mas | fem | com | | mas | fem | | | mas | fem | | | Indef. | | | | mas | fem | | | Infinitive | | | | |
| PROPER NOUN (incl. gentilic) | | | | | | | | NUMERALS | | | | | | | | emphatic | | | | Participle | | | | |
| male | god | | star | city | mount. | | | cardinal | adverbial | | | | | | | dep. clause | | | | Permansive | | | | |
| female | goddess | | temple | land | stream | | | ordinal | adjectival | | | | | | | ADVERB { encl pref | | | | PREPOSITION | | CONJUNCTION | | |
| underworld | | | | | | | | fraction | distributive | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

FIG. 56.—MANIFOLDED CARD OF THE ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN DICTIONARY BEFORE EDITING

This card contains a fifty-word paragraph of a cuneiform text in transliteration (left) and a translation of the same paragraph (right) as well as a citation indicating the source of the paragraph (upper right corner).

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File Under: madânu

Writing { Ideogr. / " w ph. Comp.

Syl, List, Gram, School
Rel (Hymn, Prayer, Psalm, Lit, Rit, Omen, Incan, Hemerol)
Lit (Epic, Prov, Fable)
Hist, Chron, Business, Legal, Law, Medical, Math, Astrol. — Assyr. Code

KAV. I, COL. III.

2123

(94 Cont'd)

63) us-bu-tu-u-ni i-[di]
64) 3 a-te i-id-da-an
65) ù šum-ma it-te-ki-e-ir
66) la-a i-di-e-ma i-ḳa-ab-bi
67) a-na r i-id il-lu-u-ku
68) ù šum-ma. amêlu ša aššat(at) amêli
69) i-na bîti-šu us-bu-tu-u-ni
70) i-na r i-id it-tu-u-ra
71) 3 a-te i-id-da-an
72) šum-ma amêlu ša aššat-su i-na pa-ni-šu

(But if the master of the house)
63) knew (that a man's wife) was dwelling (in his house with his wife),
64) he shall pay threefold.
65) But if he denies (it),
66) says: "I did not know,"
67) they shall go to the river.
68) And if the man in whose house
69) a man's wife was dwelling,
70) returns from the river,
71) threefold he shall pay.
72) If the man whose wife (of her own accord withdrew herself) from his presence

| NOUN, ADJ, PART, INF. | sg. | pl. | du. |
|---|---|---|---|
| nom | | | |
| gen | | | |
| acc | | | |
| mas | fem | com | |

| PERSONAL PRONOUN (nominative / gen-acc) | sg. | pl. |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | | |
| 2nd | | |
| 3rd | | |
| mas | fem | |

| PRONOMINAL SUFFIX (noun / verb) | sg. | pl. |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | | |
| 2nd | | |
| 3rd | | |
| mas | fem | |

| PRONOUN | sg. | pl. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Demonstr. | | | mas |
| Rel. | | | fem |
| Inter. | | | neut |
| Indef. | | | |

| VERB (strong,) (mod. gem) (pr. lieu) (pr. gut) (md. gut) (ter. inf.) (pr. w&i) (quadr.) | sg. | pl. | du. | | I, 1, 2, 3, | II, 1, 2, 3, | III, 1, 2, 3, | IV, 1, 2, 3, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | | | | Present | a | | | |
| 2nd | | | | Preterite | | | | |
| 3rd | ✓ | | | Imperative | | | | |
| mas | fem | | | Infinitive | | | | |
| emphatic | | | | Participle | | | | |
| dep. clause | | | | Permansive | | | | |

| PROPER NOUN (incl. gentilic) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| male | god | star | city | mount. |
| female | goddess | temple | land | stream |
| underworld | | | | |

| NUMERALS | |
|---|---|
| cardinal | adverbial |
| ordinal | adjectival |
| fraction | distributive |

ADVERB { encl / pref | PREPOSITION | CONJUNCTION

FIG. 57.—MANIFOLDED CARD OF THE ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN DICTIONARY AFTER EDITING

The editor has inserted the cue word by which it is to be filed, in the upper left-hand corner. The word itself, *i-id-da-an*, is underscored in line 64, and its translation likewise. In the grammatical tables below, the editor has also identified the word grammatically by checking off the proper forms enumerated in the table.



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It is at this point that the process of dictionary editing more specifically begins. Each group of fifty cards representing each paragraph is now ready for further editorial work. If the document contained twenty paragraphs, these twenty paragraphs are now distributed on a thousand cards, fifty for each paragraph. At this stage, therefore, the document is rather bulky, but it must now go back to the editor or collaborator who translated and paragraphed it. For this purpose strong cases have been specially prepared in which to express such cards to the collaborator if he happens to be a non-resident member of the staff. A few of these cases, marked *D*, will be seen in Figure 59. As explained in discussing the Egyptian dictionary, the collaborator takes each paragraph, now available in fifty copies, and underscores the first word on the first card, the second word on the second card, and so on. At the same time the word illustrated is entered by hand in the blank in the upper left-hand corner, marked "file under" (Fig. 57). This cue word insures the filing of the card in the proper place in the alphabetical files. Professor Luckenbill has further devised a grammatical diagram which is printed at the bottom of every card (Fig. 55). In this diagram the collaborator checks off the proper blank, indicating the grammatical classification of the word—a precaution which will greatly aid in securing correct translations, as well as in other directions. When so worked over by the collaborator, each of the thousand cards appears as in Figure 57 and is ready for filing.

Considerable bodies of such materials collect and are kept in temporary storage boxes, marked *B* in Figure 59. From these they pass into desk file boxes (*C* in Fig. 59), whence they are shifted to the permanent alphabetical file drawers (*A* in Fig. 59). It was not until October 1, 1921, that the system was set in operation, yet by January 1, 1922, 2,000 cards per week were being distributed in the alphabetical files. By June 30, 1922, the total number of alphabetically distributed cards will be about 75,000, in addition to about 8,000 guide cards indicating that the dictionary materials contain about 8,000 words. Of these about 3,000 are proper names and Sumerian words from the syllabaries and bilinguals. The remainder, about 5,000, are Assyrian-Babylonian (Akkadian) words. The rate mentioned, 2,000 cards per week, can be doubled by a 25

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FIG. 58.—OFFICE OF THE ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN DICTIONARY. SOUTHWEST CORNER

**The processes of manifolding are illustrated: *F*, Hammond typewriters with specially cut characters; *G*, "Line-a-time" racks; *H*, duplicator; *I*, cards. No. 9133.**




FIG. 59.—OFFICE OF THE ASSYRIAN-BABYLONIAN DICTIONARY, SHOWING FILES

***A*, alphabetical files; *B*, storage; *C*, temporary storage; *D*, shipping cases for outside collaborators. No. 9132.**

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FIG. 60.—DIRECTOR'S OFFICE AND COFFIN TEXT MATERIALS

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per cent increase in the manifolding staff, and it is planned that this will be done after July 1, 1922. The present rate of over 100,000 cards a year would then be raised to over 200,000 a year. The gentlemen of the dictionary staff are to be congratulated on this very creditable showing for the first year.

It should be noted that the incorporation of such a large body of documents scattered through many museums and collections, and appearing in different ways in a large number of publications, involves careful records of the documents treated such as will enable the editors to determine identity and avoid duplication. This difficulty is met by an elaborate file of museum numbers, which is being carefully developed by Dr. Maynard. It is shown marked *E* in Figure 58.

At present the resident staff has all the material it can cope with. As the work proceeds, however, and the special tasks and the various blocks of material become more clearly defined, other leading cuneiform scholars of America and Europe will be invited to co-operate. It will be part of the program to be carried out by the Director during his coming journey of 1922–23 to consult with the ablest of our European colleagues with the purpose of securing their co-operation and suggestions. Such co-operation, if so organized as not to swamp the resident staff, will of course materially hasten the completion of the great task. It is as yet hardly possible to hazard a guess which would be of any value, as to the length of time required to complete the Assyrian dictionary; but eight to ten years of such progress as has already been made will probably be sufficient to bring it near completion.

### IV. THE COFFIN TEXTS AND EARLY STAGES OF EGYPTIAN RELIGION IN THE FORERUNNERS OF THE "BOOK OF THE DEAD"

Vast masses of ancient documents, like those which will be so much better understood when the Assyrian-Babylonian dictionary is available, fall into groups each of which must be studied by itself as a whole. Among such groups the *religious documents* of the Near Orient are of commanding importance. They disclose to us man's earliest surviving religious notions. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* has become, in title at least, a household word in the Western World.

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The *Book of the Dead*, however, is but a late group of religious documents, compiled out of far older materials similar in character. The existent translations of the *Book of the Dead* are of no value because its older constituent materials have never been completely collected and carefully studied as a whole. The oldest body of literature extant in any language at present is found in a large group of religious texts employed for the benefit of the later pharaohs of the Pyramid age (about 3000–2500 B.C.) and for their exclusive use engraved in their pyramids in the cemetery of Memphis. They are therefore termed the Pyramid Texts. They include literature which has descended from an older period at least as far back as the thirty-fifth century B.C., while some of the Pyramid Texts are a thousand years later than this. With the extension of a blessed destiny to include less exalted folk than the pharaohs, the nobles began to record excerpts from the Pyramid Texts in their tombs. After the twenty-second century B.C. the barons of the Feudal age were more and more interested to have such literature available after death. The popularization of a blessed Hereafter not confined to the pharaohs produced many pictures of happiness for humbler folk in the next world.

Thus there arose a body of religious literature concerning the life beyond the grave, much of which probably owed its origin to the Feudal age, though some of it will have been older. Such texts, then, form a mortuary literature suited to the *people* of the Feudal age. Almost all of this later body of mortuary texts passed over into the *Book of the Dead*, which was therefore put together out of selections from an humbler and more popular mortuary literature. These forerunners of the *Book of the Dead*, together with copious extracts also from the Pyramid Texts (about half from each of the two sources), were written on the inner surfaces of the heavy wooden[1] coffins of the Feudal age (Fig. 61). Every coffin-maker in the towns up and down the Nile Valley was furnished by the priests of his town with a local version of these utterances. Before the coffins were put together the scribes in the makers' employ filled the inside surfaces of the cedar planks with pen-and-ink copies of such texts as he had available (Figs. 62–63). It was commonly done with great

[1] The wood is commonly, though perhaps incorrectly, called cedar.

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FIG. 61.—WOODEN COFFIN OF THE ROYAL LADY AASHAÏT, DISCOVERED BY THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM EXPEDITION IN THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DÊR EL-BAHRI.

The tomb of this royal lady was discovered in the Metropolitan Museum excavations of 1921 in the line of tombs of the queens of Mentuhotep of the Eleventh Dynasty (2160–2000 B.C.). It is the first royal coffin of the Middle Kingdom as yet found containing Coffin Texts. The body lay with the face immediately behind the eyes, painted at the right end on the outside of the coffin. On the inside, behind these eyes, is another pair, which may be seen in Figure 62. Photograph by the kindness of the Metropolitan Museum and Mr. A. M. Lythgoe.

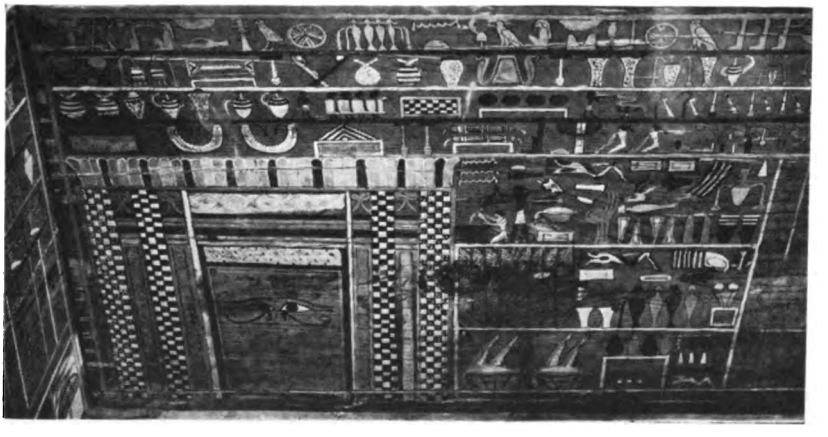


FIG. 62.—PARTIAL VIEW OF THE INSIDE OF THE COFFIN OF THE ROYAL LADY AASHAÏT

The body lay with the face toward the eyes seen here, painted on the inside of the coffin. They are placed across a pair of folding doors in a doorway in the center of a painted house façade, crowned by a palm cornice. The line of hieroglyphs at the top contains a prayer on behalf of the deceased lady. Over the house façade and on its right is painted an array of gifts and offerings, especially food. At the extreme right, in vertical columns, the Coffin Texts begin and on the extreme left they may likewise be seen in vertical columns on the inside of the head of the coffin. The paints and inks employed by the ancient scribe are usually water colors, though sometimes they are done with hot wax (encaustic). Photograph by the kindness of the Metropolitan Museum and Mr. A. M. Lythgoe.

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**FIG. 63.—PART OF THE INSIDE OF THE COFFIN LID OF THUTNAKHT, AN EGYPTIAN NOBLE OF THE FEUDAL AGE, PROBABLY ABOUT 2000 B.C.**

The photograph contains only the upper left-hand corner of the lid when turned on edge. The transverse strip holding the lid together is seen at the left. Above, in large painted hieroglyphs, is the end of a prayer on behalf of the deceased noble which affirms that "he will never die." The Coffin Texts below the horizontal line of large hieroglyphs are in vertical lines which have been carefully carved into the wood, a very unusual precaution which has made this one of the best preserved Coffin Texts in our possession. Photograph by the kindness of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Dr. George A. Reisner.

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carelessness and inaccuracy, the effort being to fill up the planks as fast as possible. In the same coffin they might write the same chapter twice or three times and in one instance a chapter is found no less than five times in the same coffin.

Under these circumstances it is quite impossible to make these documents available as scientific materials without the most careful copying and comparison of all the available duplicate texts. They can never be understood in themselves, nor can the *Book of the Dead*, so largely built up out of them, ever be translated with any approximation to accuracy until all these Coffin Texts, as we call them, have been collected and published together as a whole. A very valuable collection taken from the coffins in the Cairo museum has been made and published with his usual care and accuracy by the distinguished Director of the Department of Antiquities in the Egyptian government, M. Pierre Lacau.[1]

The importance of these texts in the history of early religion is obvious—not least because it is now quite evident that the moral sensitiveness of the early Egyptian has made his religious documents the earliest literary expression of his ethical consciousness. In the Coffin Texts we find the first outspoken conviction of moral responsibility in the life hereafter. In the evolution of civilization they therefore mark one of the most important stages. While this is neither the place nor the stage of our investigations which would permit anything more than a casual mention of some of the important reasons for the study and publication of these texts, it may be further mentioned that there is found in them also a body of astronomical tables, the earliest such materials available in old Egyptian documents.

[1] Lacau, *Textes religieux*, *Recueil de Travaux*, Vols. XXVI–XXXIV. Lacau's collection includes eighty-seven so-called "chapters." The character of the Coffin Texts as containing the earliest surviving fragments of the *Book of the Dead* was first recognized by Lepsius, who published the material in the Berlin Collection (Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, Berlin, 1867), and other texts were later published by Birch (*Egyptian Texts . . . . from the Coffin of Amamu*, London, 1886). Wilkinson's tracing of an Eleventh Dynasty Coffin Text, now lost, was published by Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1910, pls. XXXIX–XLVIII, pp. xxi–xxii. A similar body of texts from the sepulcher of the Middle Kingdom tomb of Harhotep was published by Maspero, *Mémoires de la Mission Arch. au Caire*, I, 136–84. A useful statement of the available materials will be found by Lacau in his *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire*, I (*Catalogue general . . . . du Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1904, pp. vi f.

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The Oriental Institute has, therefore, committed itself to a complete collection and publication of the Coffin Texts, based, as the word "complete" necessarily indicates, upon a study of all the existent materials scattered through the museums of Europe and America, and especially in the National Museum of Egypt at Cairo. In this work the Director will enjoy the able collaboration of the distinguished Egyptologists, Dr. Alan H. Gardiner, of London, and M. Pierre Lacau, as coeditors, besides the assistance of the Oriental Institute staff. According to present plans Dr. Gardiner and the present writer will meet in London this year for the arrangement of final details and on December 15, 1922, the three coeditors will meet in Cairo for a concerted attack upon the great collection in the Cairo museum. It is hoped that the winter of 1922–23 may suffice for copying and arranging in preliminary form the entire body of Cairo materials. The summer of 1923 will then be devoted to various texts in Europe. It is a pleasure to record that every great museum of the world thus far approached has, without hesitation, placed its entire body of such materials at the disposal of the editors of the new project. A number of the more important collections are in the hands of the present writer in the form of photographs, on the basis of which it will be possible to make preliminary manuscript copies which can later be collated with the originals in the various museums.

The plan of operations by which such a complicated body of original documents shall be copied and organized must be carefully defined in the beginning. While it is not necessary to recount all the details of these plans in this review, it may be of interest and perhaps of assistance to other scholars to recite some of its provisions.

Each editor or copyist must prepare all his copies on sheets of a printed page form furnished by the Oriental Institute (see Fig. 64). This page form, in general, furnishes space for four columns of hand-copied text (*a*, *c*, *e*, *g* in Fig. 64). These columns are vertical to correspond with the arrangement of the original texts, which, as is shown in Figure 63, are written in vertical columns. Alongside each column the page form provides a blank space (*b*, *d*, *f*, *h*) for textual notes. These notes are especially necessary owing to the fact that the originals are in a linear cursive form of hieroglyphic which not

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infrequently approaches hieratic. The hand-copying on the manuscript page form is therefore a transliteration into hieroglyphic and many textual notes will be concerned with matters of transliteration. The coffins are frequently in damaged condition, which has rendered even the signs in the ancient unfadable carbon ink illegible in many places. There will therefore be numerous uncertain readings and gaps in the text. In order to determine the relative length of these gaps it will be necessary to insert the height of the columns of the original (see bottom of page form, Fig. 63) and the usual height of the more customary signs, such as , as well as the height of the gap, or lacuna, itself. As these will vary from coffin to coffin they must be carefully entered not only for each coffin but for each side of the coffin interior. It will be seen that the top of the page form provides space for a designation of each coffin, the name of the deceased owner who occupied it, the provenience of the coffin itself, its ancient date, the museum where it is now installed, with the museum number, and likewise designations of the exact situations of the different portions of the texts, especially on the inside of the coffin (head, foot, back, front, top, bottom). Each page form so filled up must be numbered consecutively from the beginning and no two sheets will bear the same number. If it happens that the text has been published anywhere, this too will be entered on the proper sheet, together with the parallel texts in the Pyramids, the *Book of the Dead*, or other coffin texts. Spaces for these references are provided at the bottom of the page form (Fig. 64).

When the copyist has finished his copy he signs by his initials in the space provided. All such entries on the page form are to be made with specially prepared "copying" pencils, so that each finished and duly signed sheet may be duplicated on a duplicator carried by the copyists, so that each editor or collaborator may receive a facsimile of every sheet prepared or copied in the course of the Coffin Text enterprise. Such a completed and manifolded sheet will be found in Figure 65.

In addition to the hand copies of the original, every text is also to be photographed and it is needless to add that these photographs will be numbered consecutively and as systematically filed as the hand copies. The photograph will be regarded as furnishing a

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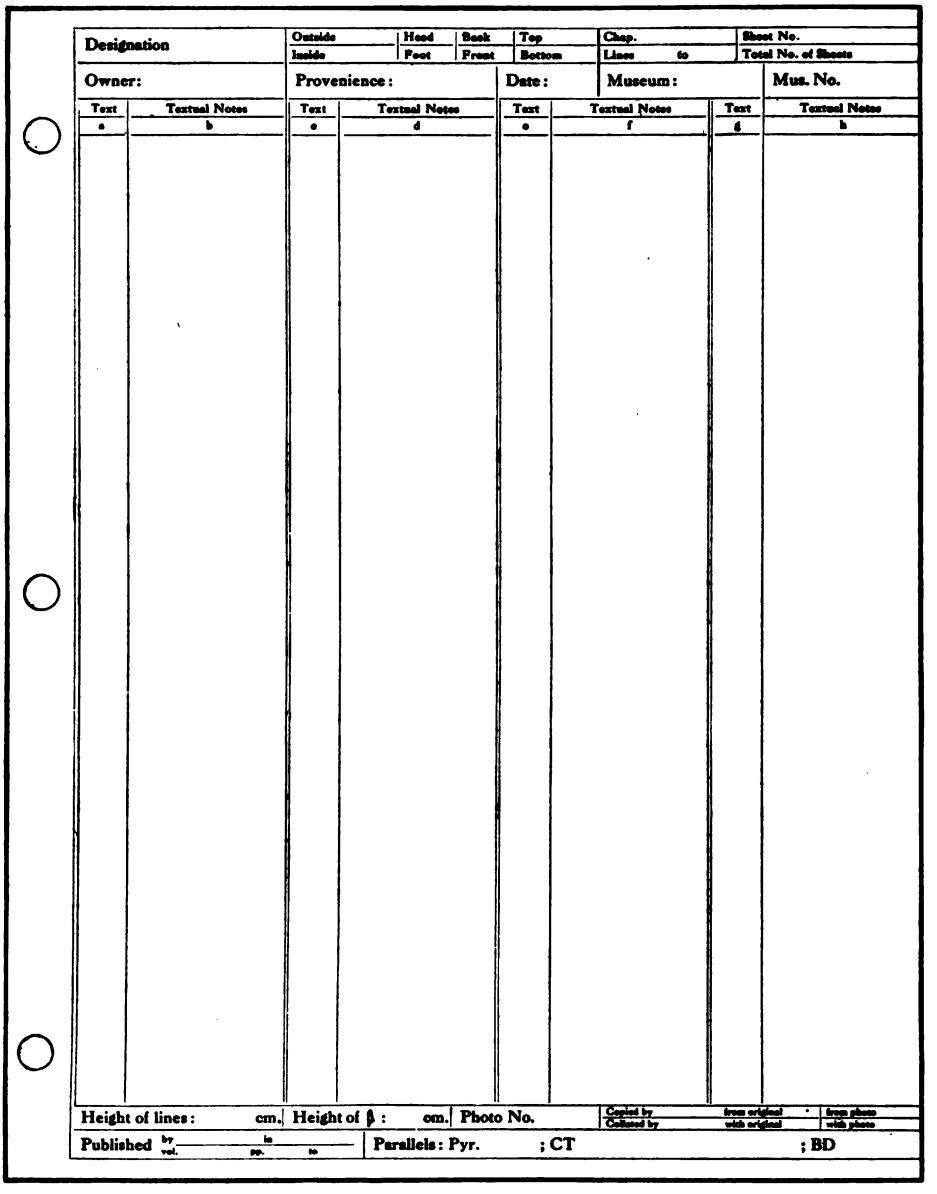



FIG. 64.—A BLANK PAGE FORM FOR MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF THE COFFIN TEXTS. (See p. 310)

The sheets are $8\frac{7}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

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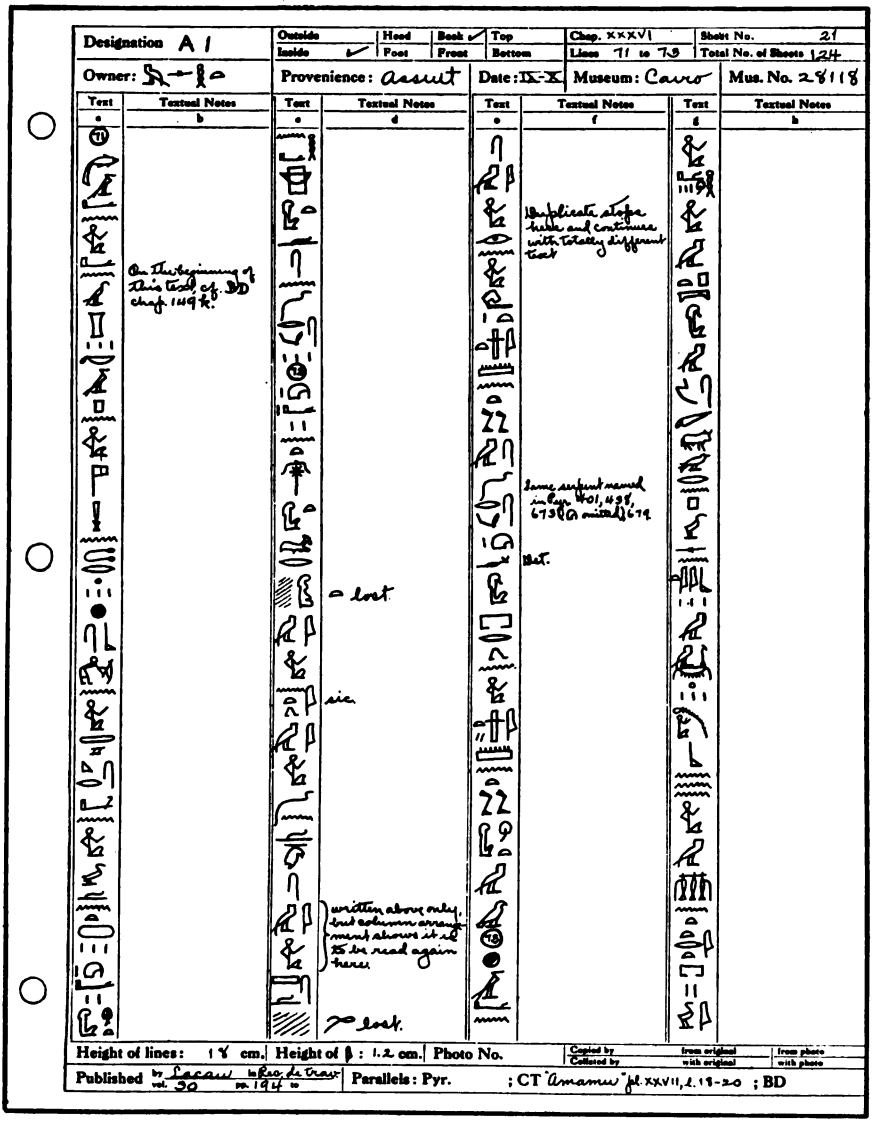



FIG. 65.—A MANIFOLDED PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT COPY OF THE COFFIN TEXTS. (See p. 311)

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facsimile copy of the great bulk of the text and, as far as practicable, a complete series of photographs for each coffin should be in the hands of the copyist before he approaches the original. Except in the case of a very illegible coffin the copyist will be able to work at his desk and to make his copy of the great bulk of the text there. He can then collate with the original, giving chief attention, of course, to the broken or illegible passages. Full notes regarding the available photographs must be entered on the page form and of course all measurements mentioned above will have to be made from the original.

The printed page forms are eyeleted for loose-leaf filing, so that the manuscript sheets of each editor will be filed in suitable covers, each coffin preceded by a heavy yellow sheet with index tab bearing the coffin designation.

## V. THE TALES OF "KALILA AND DIMNA" AND THE ANCESTRY OF ANIMAL FABLES

While the Coffin Text project is undertaking the recovery of the forerunners of the *Book of the Dead*, the Institute is also engaged in a similar enterprise in the investigation of the ancestry of an ancient work which, next to the Bible, has become the most widely distributed and translated book in the entire history of literature. This book is of unusual interest to us Americans, with whom the animal stories of Uncle Remus have become a household treasury. It is quite evident that this body of negro folk-lore contains fundamental elements which have migrated to America from the slave markets of Africa, having crossed the Dark Continent from the eastern to the western coast. Nothing has been easier than for tales of Arabia and even India to reach the east coast of Africa, and in this way they have eventually migrated to the plantations of our own South. Brer Rabbit thus emerges with an ancient oriental ancestry which probably few of our people have suspected.[1]

Over against this southern route through Africa, these animal stories have also reached us by a northern route through England. It is a matter of common information that Shakespeare's knowledge

[1] See Joseph Jacobs, *The Earliest English Version of the Fables of Bidpai*, London, 1888, pp. xliv f.

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of Greek and Roman history was drawn from an English translation of Plutarch's *Lives* made by Sir Thomas North, who based his version on the French of Amyot in 1579. Nine years previously, however, North had contributed essentially to the development of early English prose by the publication of a series of animal stories based on Spanish and Italian sources. This book "is the English version of an Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of a Latin version of a Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of the Pehlevi version of the Indian original."[1] This summary suggests the extraordinary ramifications of the northern line of descent which has brought to us these tales of the ancient Orient in English form.

Tales in which human life and relationships are shifted into the animal world for purposes of caricature, or instructive moralizing, are of enormous age in the ancient Orient. It is of importance to note that a cycle of such tales with delightful illustrations existed in Egypt as far back as the Empire (1580–1150 B.C.). The texts which accompanied these illustrations (Figs. 66–67) have perished, and the illustrations have for the most part never been properly studied and published. Our first example (Fig. 66), from the collections of the New York Historical Society, has been well published and discussed by Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams in the *Bulletin of the New York Historical Society*, 1921, pages 91–99. Late examples of these Egyptian animal tales have survived in Demotic. Spiegelberg has called attention to a drawing of Ramesside age on a flake of limestone in the Berlin museum, showing a lion (or cat?), an ape, and a bird, which he has neatly demonstrated to be an illustration of the animal tales in the "Story of the Sun's Eye" in a Leyden Demotic papyrus (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1916, 19, col. 225–28, and Tafel 4). In cuneiform literature of Assyrian age animal tales have also survived. These earlier oriental animal fables already display the "framework," which makes them more attractive to the hearer, and lends weight to the moral lesson to be conveyed.

Such animal tales were introduced into the life-story of the Buddha before the Christian Era, and seemingly by 300 A.D. they were collected in a group which was circulating separately in Sanscrit. From this Sanscrit work a translation into Pehlevi, or Middle

[1] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

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FIG. 66.—AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANIMAL FABLE IN PICTURE FORM: FOURTEENTH CENTURY B.C.

The rat, seated at the right, crowned with a lotus flower, carrying a nosegay and about to drink from a festive bowl, is waited upon by a lugubrious-looking cat carrying a fan and a napkin. Between the two figures is a trussed goose. The obvious point lies in the ludicrous inversion of the normal situation.

In the collections of the New York Historical Society; photograph by the kindness of the Society and Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams.



FIG. 67.—ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ANIMAL STORIES IN PICTURE

The cat drives the ducklings to the pond, at the same time carefully carrying a gosling (?) on one paw. Similarly the fox in front and the wolf behind, bearing their shepherds' bags, etc., drive the goats and a kid to the pasture. As in Figure 66, the point lies in the absurd inversion of normal conditions. It is possibly a social satire: those who should protect the people prey upon them. The date is probably about the same as that of Figure 66.

From a papyrus in the British Museum. Lepsius, *Auswahl*, Taf. XXIII.

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Persian, appeared, about A.D. 570, and it would seem that an Arab named Abdullah al-Muḳaffaᶜ rendered this Pehlevi version into Arabic about A.D. 750, under the title *Kalila and Dimna*, the names of the two jackals with whom the tales begin. In addition to real translations there also appeared various paraphrases in verse. After appearing in Syriac and other oriental versions, the stories gradually spread westward, especially through Greek, Old Spanish, and Hebrew versions, the last giving rise to translations in German, Spanish, Czech, Italian, Dutch, Danish, and finally English, as we have seen. In 1888 it was calculated that these animal tales had been translated "into thirty-eight languages, in one hundred and twelve different versions, which have passed into about 180 editions."[1] These various versions are sometimes disguised under the title, the *Fables of Bidpai*, or the *Fables of Pilpai*.

It is of no little interest that the illustrations which we already find embellishing the Egyptian animal tales, should also have been regarded as an essential part of the East Indian cycle. They are quite commonly found in the Arabic versions surviving at the present day, and here we may see Brer Rabbit exulting over the discomfited Lion who is disclosed head downward at the bottom of the well (Fig. 68) in precisely the same uncomfortable situation into which Uncle Remus tells us Brer Rabbit betrayed him. Similarly the same Arabic manuscript exhibits Brer Fox receiving well-deserved chastisement inflicted by two antelopes (Fig. 69).

From what has been said above it is evident that the history of these tales very much needs investigation. The Indian collection known as Pançatantra, as edited by Professor Franklin Edgerton, is about to be published by the American Oriental Society. When Professor Sprengling approached the writer, therefore, with the hope that the Institute might include this subject also within the scope of its investigations, and proposed the establishment of a final text of the Arabic version, together with a study of the question of its relations to the entire history of such tales, it was an obviously attractive proposal. The enterprise has already been begun, therefore, and the custodians of the leading libraries and collections of the world containing the most important Arabic manuscripts, have

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. xii and xxv.

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shown themselves most friendly to the project. The Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Legatum Warnerianum at Leyden, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other similar institutions have readily granted permission to have their manuscripts of *Kalila and Dimna* photographed. Nineteen important manuscripts have already been photographed especially for this enterprise and a total of



*"Bimeby Brer Lion git so mad*
*he jump in de spring headforemos'."*

FIG. 68.—BRER RABBIT TRAPS THE LION IN THE WELL

Illustration of the exploits of the rabbit in an Arabic manuscript probably of the thirteenth century of our era. Nos. 8919–58.

2,990 photographs, representing 5,980 pages of manuscript, have already been incorporated in the archives of the Institute. Professor Sprengling is already busily engaged in the study of these materials, and it is expected that the photographs of the remaining manuscripts will be available as fast as he finds them needful. In this investigation we are again dealing with one of the innumerable lines of culture influence which have passed out of the Orient into the civilization of the Western World. It forms a problem of international literary

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relationships of the widest interest and importance, illustrating in its later aspects the same cultural current which first brought civilization out of the Orient into Europe.

### VI. THE ARCHIVES

Such enterprises as the Assyrian-Babylonian dictionary, the Coffin Texts, and *Kalila and Dimna*, are *intensive* investigations

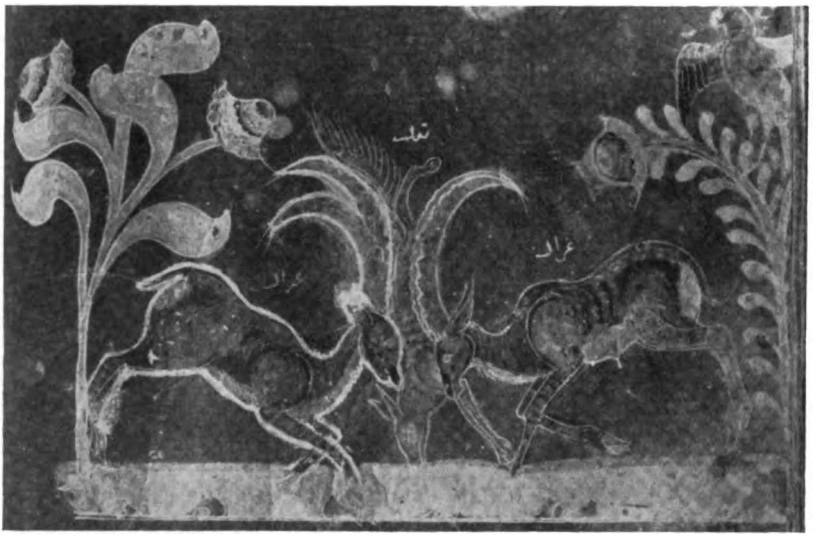


FIG. 69.—BRER FOX IN TROUBLE. FROM THE SAME MANUSCRIPT AS FIGURE 68

No. 8919–53.

covering either individual documents or well defined, even though large bodies of material which are of such importance that they deserve highly specialized attention. At the same time the Oriental Institute plans to deal as far as may be with the more comprehensive task of organizing and appraising the remains from the entire group of civilizations of the ancient Near East from which primitive Europe gained the basis for its later civilized development. Such a general organization and appraisement involves nothing less than disengaging, listing, compiling and classifying the available facts and data from the original monuments, published and unpublished, whether

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in museums or still standing on the original sites in the Near East, or, finally, as scattered through the enormous body of treatises and monographs published in many different places by modern scholars. In outward form the data thus classified make up a card index, compiled by the methods and to a large extent the personnel of a modern library cataloguing system, supplemented by the



FIG. 70.—THE ARCHIVES OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE: A CORNER OF THE FILES
No. 9141.

specialized knowledge of the orientalist. This card index is intended to form encyclopedic archives, so organized as to exhibit the leading rubrics of the cultural development of man, especially before the rise of historic Europe, but also later. Ideally conceived, each such rubric, if exhaustively compiled, would contain a complete organization of the discernible relevant facts and materials. For the entire vast range of the ancient civilizations of the Near East, it is hardly conceivable that any organization would be able completely to realize this ideal. The utmost that the Institute can hope to do is roughly

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to disengage and classify the more important bodies of facts and materials. Even such a less detailed and more general grouping of the classified materials is as yet nowhere available, and if successfully compiled by the Institute should furnish a unique basis for the production of a comprehensive history of the origins, rise, and early development of civilization such as we do not yet possess. Under the



FIG. 71.—LIBRARY OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE AND SECRETARY'S OFFICE: WHERE THE ARCHIVES ARE INSTALLED
No. 9137.

immediate charge of Dr. T. G. Allen good progress has been made in the formation of these archives, and over twenty thousand cards carefully typewritten in conformity with the requirements of modern library practice have been filed. The files containing these and related records and materials may be seen in Figures 70 and 71.

### VII. CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS

Whenever possible it will be the purpose of the Oriental Institute to co-operate with other institutions in the study and publication of documents in their collections, especially where such co-operation

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is practically indispensable. Many institutions are not able to expand the personnel of the administrative staff to cover all the cultures that may be represented in their collections. Again a group of materials may be so large, as in the case of the Coffin Texts scattered throughout the great museums of the world, or the manuscripts of *Kalila and Dimna* in the European and Oriental libraries, that no one institution will feel justified in undertaking to issue a comprehensive publication of the whole body of such materials.

1. *The Edwin Smith Medical Papyrus.*—For such reasons as these the New York Historical Society has intrusted the writer with the publication of a unique medical papyrus acquired by the Society in 1906. This document, of which a specimen page may be found in Figure 72, is of unique interest. It dates from the late seventeenth century B.C., or possibly as late as 1600 B.C. It may be fairly said to be the most important document in the history of science surviving from the pre-Greek age of mankind. The document is a stately roll 4.68 meters (15′ 4½″) in length with columns eleven or twelve inches high. The important portion of the document is contained in seventeen columns of the front. In these seventeen columns we have a portion of an ancient treatise on surgery and external medicine which began its discussions at the top of the head and, passing downward, presumably continued to the soles of the feet. Unfortunately the beginning is lost and the ancient scribe did not continue his copy further down than the thorax and the beginning of the spine. This document differs strikingly from all the other known Egyptian medical books in that it is not a list of *recipes* but an orderly arrangement of *cases*. It contains a series of forty-eight carefully observed cases, each built up as follows:

*a*) *Title*, always beginning: "Instructions for . . . ." (name of ailment)
*b*) *Examination*, always beginning: "If you examine a man having . . . ." (symptoms follow)
*c*) *Diagnosis*, always beginning: "You should say concerning him: 'A sufferer with . . . .'" (name of trouble follows)
*d*) *Verdict*, always one of three:
1. "An ailment I will treat" (favorable)
2. "An ailment I will contend with" (doubtful)
3. "An ailment I will not treat"[1] (unfavorable)
*e*) *Treatment*
*f*) *Explanatory glosses* (seventy in all).

[1] Grammatically this phrase is not clear in the original; but the character of the cases to which it is appended, and the wording of the phrase, make it evident that it characterizes a case as probably beyond the physician's power to treat successfully.

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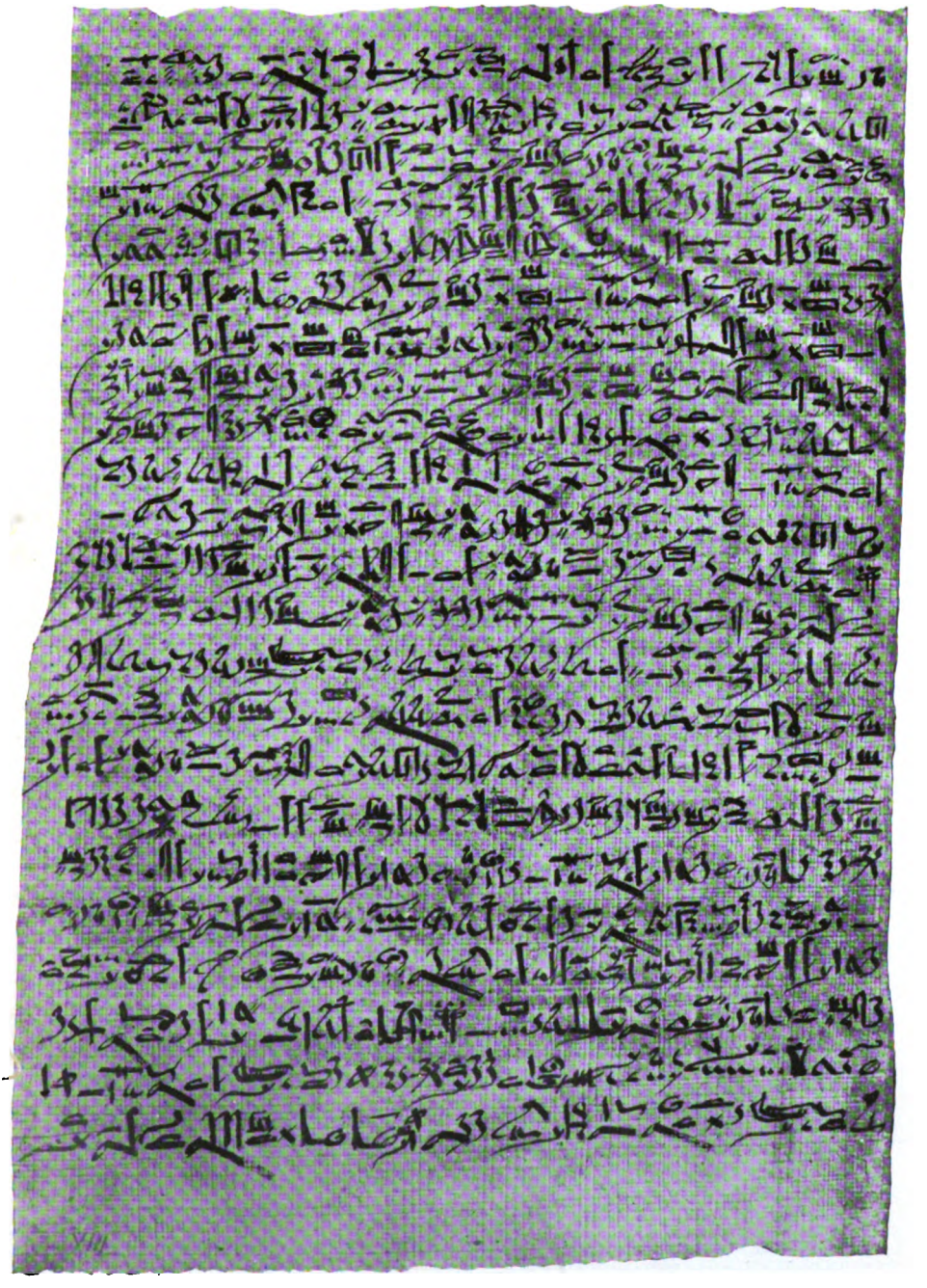


FIG. 72.—A PAGE OF THE EDWIN SMITH PAPYRUS

An Egyptian medical book of the late seventeenth century B.C. in the collections of the New York Historical Society. The oldest medical book in America.

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This systematically arranged material, especially in the examinations and the explanatory glosses, reveals a scientific attitude which approaches to a surprising extent that of the modern scientist. The cases are very largely injuries, such as sword cuts in the skull (Figs. 73–74), and as these are due to physical causes quite clear to the physician, they obviously have no connection with the activities



Fig. 73



Fig. 74

FIGS. 73–74.—SWORD CUTS IN EGYPTIAN SKULLS OF A CENTURY OR TWO BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA

In Figure 73 (left) the cut and the resulting fractures caused death; in Figure 74 (right) the art of the surgeon healed the wound and the man survived. Such wounds as these are discussed and the treatment prescribed in the new Edwin Smith Medical Papyrus.

From G. Elliott Smith and F. Wood Jones, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia* (Report for 1907–8), Vol. II, *The Human Remains*, Plate XLI, Figure 3, and Plate XLIII, Figure 2.

of malignant demons of disease. Thus these cases of organs and tissues injured by intelligible physical agencies form a realm quite uninvaded by magical powers—a realm in which the Egyptian physician gathered the observable facts of anatomy, physiology, surgery, and therapeutic, quite unbiased by his inherited traditions regarding the demoniacal causes of diseases. The document is, therefore, not a treatise on demoniacal medicine and we have the mind of the ancient Egyptian revealed to us here as interested in the observable facts of science for their own sake. This is perfectly

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certain in the fatal or hopeless cases discussed—cases in which the physician, with no suggestion that he can save the patient, describes the conditions and is interested in what has happened and what is going on in the organs of his patient.

In the *Bulletin of the New York Historical Society* for April, 1922, the present writer has issued a preliminary account of this extraordinary ancient medical book, which has been dedicated by the Society to the memory of Jean François Champollion in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of his decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphic. On returning from the Orient late in 1923 the present writer hopes to furnish the manuscript for final publication of the papyrus with fascimile reproduction of the hieratic text and as full a discussion and translation as may be, which will later be issued by the New York Historical Society.

2. *The Art Institute Egyptian Handbook.*—Another illustration of co-operation between the Oriental Institute and related institutions is the handbook of the Egyptian Collection in the Art Institute of Chicago, which has been in course of preparation by Dr. T. George Allen, the Secretary of the Institute, for a number of years. This handbook is completed and the manuscript is ready for publication.

A strictly scientific catalogue of the Art Institute's Egyptian materials must be left to the future. In the meantime this handbook may serve not only for gallery visitors, but also for scholars in other institutions. Sculpture and coffins are illustrated and described in detail. As for the hundreds of smaller antiquities, representative and unusual specimens are reproduced in small half-tone cuts, while the text brings out the most important facts and also assigns to their proper rubrics nearly all the individual items. The Art Institute expects to publish the book at once.

3. *The early Babylonian records of Gudea of Lagash from the Louvre.*—Professor Ira M. Price has been investigating the cuneiform records of Gudea of Lagash. The Great Cylinder Inscriptions A and B of Gudea were copied from the original clay documents in the Museum of the Louvre, Paris, in the spring of 1898, by the courtesy of M. Leon Heuzey, conservateur, and the kind oversight of M. Fr. Thureau Dangin. In the following year the text and a sign-list, constituting Part I of Volume XV of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*,

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under the editorship of Professors Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, appeared in Leipzig. Since that date Professor Price has devoted all his available time to the study of these unique unilingual Sumerian inscriptions.

The results of these studies will appear as Part II of Volume XV of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek* on completion of negotiations for the publication. This Part II will include a transliteration, a translation into English—both of the preceding with comments and notes—a vocabulary, including places and deities, transliteration- and sign-value lists, and corrigenda to the sign-list in Part I; also, as an Appendix, a transliteration and translation of the Statues A to L, their vocabulary to be incorporated in that of Cylinders A and B.

These unique records are of the greatest importance in many respects but especially regarding the matter of early Babylonian foreign connections and such fundamental questions as that of the existence of open sea navigation under the early Babylonian rulers around 2500 B.C.

4. *Prehistoric industries of France.*—It is gratifying to be able to state that, by the cordial co-operation of the French government and the kind interest of M. Salomon Reinach, Director of the National Museums of France, the Institute will shortly be able to instal a representative series of stone implements illustrating the advance of primitive culture in prehistoric France, thus visualizing a cultural sequence in Europe parallel with that of the geological ages in Egypt and Northern Africa. For this collection from the prehistoric industries of France, which is sent to our Institute as a loan for an indefinite period, we are very grateful to the French government and Mr. Reinach.

## VIII. PUBLICATIONS

From time to time the Institute will publish purely popular accounts of its work and plans, to be called *Oriental Institute Communications* numbered consecutively in a series, of which this is the first. These brochures are merely popular announcements intended to furnish the friends of the Institute with information regarding the progress of its work and the development of its program, and are, therefore, not primarily intended for scholars, although it is hoped that they also may find in these popular pamphlets some matters

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of interest or importance in the progress of oriental research. It is realized that the possession of the records which it has acquired and also that the researches undertaken lay upon the Institute a serious responsibility in the matter of purely technical and scientific publications. It is hoped that this responsibility will be properly met. The Institute expects to publish the monuments in its possession, as well as the results of its researches, as fast as may prove practicable. This scientific and technical series will be known as *Oriental Institute Publications*, numbered consecutively with Roman numerals for the sake of convenient citation. It is suggested that the forms "*O.I.P.* I," "*O.I.P.* II" will be a convenient form of citation, while the *Communications* can be cited as "*O.I.C.*" 1, 2, 3, etc.

The first volume on the program will include the new Sennacherib prism above mentioned (Fig. 50), the gold tablet of Shalmaneser (p. 286), a republication of the Haskell Syllabary, and possibly some other smaller things. The second volume will probably be devoted to the extraordinary Ṣâliḥîyah paintings (see above, pp. 256 ff.), which ought to be reproduced in color in any approximately adequate publication. The manuscript and plates of this publication will shortly be communicated to the French Academy and then published in preliminary form in *Syria*.

Without projecting here a hard and fast program of publication it may be mentioned that future volumes should also include the Bismâya monuments acquired by the University of Chicago excavations at that place—a group of materials which have long awaited publication. Besides cuneiform documents they include also archaeological materials of the greatest interest and importance in the history of early Babylonian art. The two papyri of the *Book of the Dead*—Papyrus Ryerson and Papyrus Milbank—should also be published, while in the far background the Institute will of course be obliged to undertake the publication of the Assyrian-Babylonian dictionary and the Coffin Texts.

It may be mentioned that the Institute hopes to adopt a medium-sized format for its *Publications*, not too small for plates of sculpture and not too large for volumes consisting chiefly of print. The type-face adopted by the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches$\times$7 inches (exactly $5\frac{9}{16}$ inches$\times 7\frac{3}{16}$ inches) or even some-

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what smaller, would meet these requirements. Investigations consisting chiefly of print might then be kept uniform with publications of monuments and documents, so that the entire series of *Publications* might thus be kept in one format.

Publications of members of the Department of Oriental Languages which appear in other series or do not fall within the form of the foregoing publication plans will, from time to time, be noticed in these *Communications*. Of this character is a volume just produced by Professor J. M. Powis Smith, who has been working upon a study of the Moral Life of the Hebrews. This study will follow the development of the ethical practices and ideals of the Hebrew people as recorded in the Old Testament. It is an effort to relate the moral principles and usages of the Hebrews to the economic, social, and political life out of which they sprang. The history is worked out from stage to stage in such a way as to show the clearly marked progress in ethical thinking among the Hebrews. This work is practically ready for publication.

While they may not always appear as Institute publications, it is planned that the doctoral dissertations of the graduate students in the Department of Oriental Languages shall be produced in the closest association with the work of the Institute. This is already the fact in the case of two of our graduate students, Mr. Ludlow S. Bull and Mr. William F. Edgerton. While on the first expedition of the Institute, of which he was a member, and on my advice, Mr. Bull purchased in Cairo from a private collection a large Middle Kingdom coffin containing a series of Coffin Texts. These he has been copying and studying in connection with the Institute Coffin Text project and the final publication of this coffin will be correlated with the complete publication of the Coffin Texts as a whole by the Institute. Similarly, Mr. Edgerton has been investigating the subject of boats, boat-building, and navigation in ancient Egypt—an investigation in which both the facilities and the materials of the Institute have been of service. When such investigations are carried to the point of completeness, so that they exhaust the available material, it is hoped that they may be published in connection with the Institute.

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FAGNAN, E. *Le Livre de L'impot Foncier.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1921. ix+352 pages.

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